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THE BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY
OF
EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

WITH
NUMEROUS AUTHENTIC PORTRAITS.

VOLUME I.



THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW.

INNER COURT.

Blackie & Son,

GLASGOW, EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

EDITED BY
ROBERT CHAMBERS,
ONE OF THE EDITORS OF "CHAMBERS'S EDINBURGH JOURNAL."

NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS.

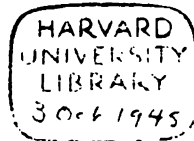
DIVISION I.
ABERCROMBY—BROWN.

BLACKIE AND SON:
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND LONDON.

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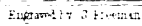


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J. B. Hall

ALEXANDER ADAM, ESQ.
FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE HIGH SCHOOL, LONDON

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES



FROM A PAINTING BY HIMSELF IN THE POSSESSION OF M^{RS} F. BELL EDINB

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JOHN WILKINS, F.R.S.

Author of the *Discourse of the*

Use of the Telescope



THE
LORD OF THE MANOR

OF THE MANOR OF



Portrait of the author.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY M. D. J. JOURNAL IN THE FIELD OF THE FAMILY.

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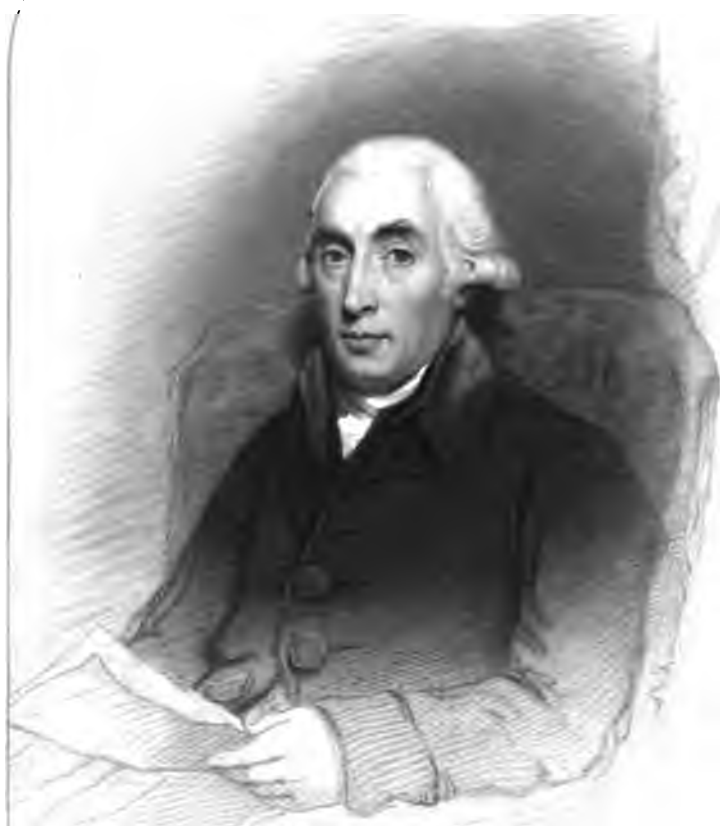
1744-1803

1744-1803

JAMES BEATTIE.

OF ANCHINGLECK.

PLATE I. OF THE LIFE OF JAMES BEATTIE.



THE QUARTER

THE QUARTER OF THE YEAR
THE QUARTER OF THE YEAR

THE QUARTER OF THE YEAR



Engraved from life

By J. H. B.

JOHN HUNTER, M.D.

SCOTTISH SURGEON AND NATURALIST.

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A

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

EMINENT SCOTSMEN.

A.

ABERCROMBY, THE HONOURABLE ALEXANDER (Lord Abercromby), a distinguished lawyer of the latter part of the 18th century, and an elegant occasional writer, was the youngest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire, and brother of the celebrated Sir Ralph Abercromby. He was born on the 15th of October, 1745. While his elder brothers were destined for the army, Alexander chose the profession of the law, which was more consistent with his gentle and studious character. After going through the ordinary course of classes at the university of Edinburgh, he became, in 1766, a member of the Faculty of Advocates. He was at this early period of his life the favourite of all who knew him, not only for the uncommon handsomeness of his person, but for the extreme sweetness of his disposition. Being given to the gaieties of fashionable life, he had little relish for laborious employment; so that, for some years after his admission into the Faculty of Advocates, his splendid abilities were well-nigh obscured by indolence or frivolity. Roused at length to exertion, he engaged with ardour in all the duties of his profession, and soon became eminent for professional skill, and distinguished as a most eloquent pleader. His reputation and business rapidly increased, and soon raised him to the first rank at the Scottish bar. In May, 1792, he was appointed one of the judges of the Court of Session, when, in compliance with the custom of the Scottish judges, he adopted the title of Lord Abercromby; and, in December following, he was called to a seat in the Court of Justiciary. "In his judicial capacity he was distinguished by a profound knowledge of law, a patient attention, a clearness of discernment, and an unbiassed impartiality which excited general admiration." His literary performances and character are thus summed up by his friend, Henry Mackenzie, who, after his death, undertook the task of recording his virtues and merits for the Royal Society:—"The laborious employments of his profession did not so entirely engross him, as to preclude his indulging in the elegant amusements of polite literature. He was one of that society of gentlemen who, in 1779, set on foot the periodical paper, published at Edinburgh during that and the subsequent year, under the title of the

Mirror; and who afterwards gave to the world another work of a similar kind, the *Lounger*, published in 1785 and 1786. To these papers he was a very valuable contributor, being the author of ten papers in the *Mirror*, and nine in the *Lounger*.¹ His papers are distinguished by an ease and gentlemanlike turn of expression, by a delicate and polished irony, by a strain of manly, honourable, and virtuous sentiment." Mackenzie states that they are also characterized by an unaffected tenderness, which he had displayed even in his speeches as a barrister, and adduces the following specimen:—"There is one circumstance," says Mr Abercromby, in debating whether long or short life be most desirable, "which with me is alone sufficient to decide the question. If there be anything that can compensate the unavoidable evils with which this life is attended, and the numberless calamities to which mankind are subject, it is the pleasure arising from the society of those we love and esteem. Friendship is the cordial of life. Without it, who would wish to exist an hour? But every one who arrives at extreme old age, must make his account with surviving the greater part, perhaps the whole, of his friends. He must see them fall from him by degrees, while he is left alone, single and unsupported, like a leafless trunk, exposed to every storm, and shrinking from every blast." Such was not destined to be the fate of Lord Abercromby, who, after exemplifying almost every virtue, and acting for some years in a public situation with the undivided applause of the world, was cut off by a pulmonary complaint, at Falmouth, whither he had gone for the sake of his health, on the 17th of November, 1795.

ABERCROMBY, JOHN, the author of several esteemed works on gardening, was the son of a respectable gardener near Edinburgh, where he was born about the year 1726. Having been bred by his father to his own profession, he removed to London at the early age of eighteen, and became a workman in the gardens attached to the royal palaces. Here he distinguished himself so much by his taste in laying out grounds, that he was encouraged to write upon the subject. His first work, however, in order to give it greater weight, was published under the name of a then more eminent horticulturist, Mr Mawe, gardener to the Duke of Leeds, under the title of *Mawe's Gardeners' Calendar*. It soon rose into notice, and still maintains its place. The editor of a recent edition of this work says, "The general principles of gardening seem to be as correctly ascertained and clearly described by this author, as by any that have succeeded him." And further, "The style of Abercromby, though somewhat inelegant, and in some instances prolix, yet appears, upon the whole, to be fully as concise, and at least as correct and intelligible, as that of some of the more modern, and less original, of his successors." Abercromby afterwards published, under his own name, *The Universal Dictionary of Gardening and Botany*, in 4to.; which was followed, in succession, by the *Gardeners' Dictionary*, the *Gardeners' Daily Assistant*, the *Gardeners' Vade Mecum*, the *Kitchen Gardener and Hot-bed Forcer*, the *Hot-house Gardener*, and numerous other works, most of which attained to popularity. Abercromby, after a useful and virtuous life, died at London in 1806, aged about eighty years.

ABERCROMBY, PATRICK, historian, was the third son of Alexander Abercromby of Fetterneir, in Aberdeenshire, a branch of the house of Birkenbog in Banffshire, which again derived its descent from Abercromby of Abercromby

¹ Nos. 4, 9, 18, 45, 51, 57, 65, 68, 87, 90, 104. * Nos. 3, 10, 14, 23, 30, 47, 74, 81, 91.

in Fife. Francis, the eldest son of Abercromby of Fetterneir, was created Lord Glassford in 1685; but as the patent, by an extraordinary restriction, was limited to his own life only, the title did not descend to his children. Patrick Abercromby was born at Forfar in 1658, and was educated at the university of St. Andrews, where he took the degree of Doctor in Medicine in 1685. His family being eminently loyal, the young physician is said to have changed his religion, to please James VII., who consequently made him one of the physicians of the court. A proceeding so adverse to all propriety, however loyal, and accordant with the temper of the times, was speedily and severely punished; for, at the Revolution, Abercromby was deprived of his appointment. For some years after he appears to have lived abroad; but he returned to Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, and devoted himself to the study of national antiquities. In 1707, he published a translation of M. Beauge's very rare book, *L'Histoire de la Guerre d'Ecosse, 1556*, under the title of, *The History of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549*; being an exact account of the Martial Expeditions performed in those days by the Scots and French on the one hand, and the English and their foreign auxiliaries on the other: done in French by Mons. Beauge, a French gentleman; with an introductory preface by the Translator. In the preface, the ancient alliance between Scotland and France is strenuously asserted. This curious French work, which gives a complete account of the war carried on by the Popish government of Cardinal Beaton, aided by the French, against the English under Protector Somerset, was reprinted in the original by Mr Smythe of Methven for the Bannatyne Club, 1829, along with a preface, giving an account of Abercromby's translation. The great work of Dr Abercromby is in two volumes, folio, entitled, *The Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*. He tells us in the preface, that, not venturing to write regular history or biography, he had resolved to relate the deeds of all the great men of his country, in a less ambitious strain, and with a more minute attention to small facts, than is compatible with those styles of composition. He also, with great modesty, apologises for his manner of writing, by saying, "When my reader is told that 'twas my fate to spend most part of my youth in foreign countries, to have but viewed, *en passant*, the south part of Britain, and to have been conversant with Roman and French, rather than with English authors, he will not expect from me those modish turns of phrase, nor that exact propriety of words, Scotsmen, by reason of their distance from the fountain of custom, so seldom attain to." The first volume of the *Martial Achievements* was published, in 1711, by Mr Robert Freebairn, and shows a respectable list of subscribers. About one-half of it is occupied by the early fabulous history of Scotland, in which the author, like almost all men of his time, and especially the Jacobites, was a devout believer. It closes with the end of the reign of Robert Bruce. The second volume appeared, with a still more numerous and respectable list of subscribers, in 1715; it was partly printed by Freebairn, and partly by Thomas Ruddiman, who not only corrected the manuscript, but superintended its progress through the press. This is said by Chalmers to have been the first typographical effort of Ruddiman. Abercromby's *Martial Achievements* is upon the whole a very creditable work for a Scottish antiquary of that period; the author is not superior to the credulity of his age and party, but he is eminently industrious, and his narrative is written in an entertaining style. The work shows a wide range of authorities, and is liberally interspersed with controversial discussions of the points most

contested by antiquaries. Dr Patrick Abercromby died poor in 1716, or, as other writers say, in 1728, leaving a widow in distressed circumstances.

ABERCROMBY, SIR RALPH, a distinguished general officer, under whom the British arms met their first success in the French revolutionary war, was the eldest son of George Abercromby of Tullibody, in Clackmannanshire, a gentleman of ancient and respectable family, and of Mary, daughter of Ralph Dundas of Manor. He was born at Menstrie, in the parish of Logie, on the 7th October, 1734. His education seems to have been regarded with more care than was usually manifested by the Scottish country gentlemen of the early and middle parts of the last century. After passing through the customary course at Rugby, he became a student, first in the university of Edinburgh, and subsequently in that of Göttingen. He entered the army, as cornet in the 3rd dragoon guards, May 23, 1756, and became a lieutenant, in the same regiment, in the year 1760; which rank he held till April, 1762, when he obtained a company in the 3rd horse. In this regiment he rose, in 1770, to the rank of major, and, in 1773, to that of lieutenant-colonel. He was included in the list of brevet colonels in 1780, and, in 1781, was made colonel of the 103rd, or king's Irish infantry, a new regiment, which was broken at the peace in 1783, when Colonel Abercromby was placed on half-pay. It may be noticed, in passing, that he represented the shire of Kinross in the British parliament from 1774 till 1780; but made no attempt to render himself conspicuous, either as a party-man or as a politician. In September, 1787, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and next year obtained the command of the 69th foot. From this corps he was, in 1792, removed to the 6th foot; from that again to the 5th; and in November, 1796, to the 2d dragoons, or Scots Greys.

On the breaking out of the French revolutionary war, Abercromby had the local rank of lieutenant-general conferred on him, and served with distinguished honour in the campaigns of 1794 and 1795, under the Duke of York. He commanded the advanced guard in the affair of Cateau (April 16, 1794), in which Chapuy, the French general, was taken prisoner, and thirty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the British. In the reverses that followed, the British army escaped entire destruction solely by the masterly manœuvres of Abercromby, who was second in command. He was wounded at Nimeguen, in the month of October following; notwithstanding which, the arduous service of conducting the retreat through Holland, in the dreadfully severe winter of 1794, was devolved wholly upon him and General Dundas. Than this retreat nothing could be conceived more calamitous. The troops did all that could be expected from them in the situation in which they were placed. Oppressed by numbers, having lost all their stores, they made good their retreat in the face of the foe, amidst the rigours of a singularly severe winter, resembling more that of the arctic circle than that of the north of Germany. For the removal of the sick, nothing could be procured but open waggons, in which they were exposed to the intense severity of the weather, to drifting snows, and heavy falls of sleet and rain. The mortality, of course, was very great. The regiments were so scattered, marching through the snow, that no returns could be made out, and both men and horses were found in great numbers frozen to

¹ He was born in 1705, called to the bar in 1728, and died, June 8, 1800, at the advanced age of ninety-five, being the eldest member of the college of justice.

death. "The march," says an eye-witness, "was marked by scenes of the most calamitous nature. We could not proceed a hundred yards without seeing the dead bodies of men, women, children, and horses, in every direction. One scene," adds the writer, "made an impression on my mind, which time will never be able to efface. Near a cart, a little further in the common, we perceived a stout-looking man and a beautiful young woman, with an infant about seven months old at the breast, all three frozen dead. The mother had most certainly died in the act of suckling her child, as, with one breast exposed, she lay upon the drifted snow, the milk, to all appearance, in a stream drawn from the nipple by the babe, and instantly congealed. The infant seemed as if its lips had just then been disengaged, and it reposed its little head upon the mother's bosom, with an overflow of milk frozen as it trickled down from its mouth. Their countenances were perfectly composed and fresh, as if they had only been in a sound and tranquil slumber." The British army reached Deventer, after incredible exertion, on the 27th of January, 1795; but they were not able to maintain the position, being closely pursued by a well-appointed army, upwards of fifty thousand strong. They continued their progress, alternately fighting and retreating, till the end of March, when the main body, now reduced one-half, reached Bremen, where they were embarked for England. Nothing could exceed the vigilance, patience, and perseverance of General Abercromby during this retreat, in which he was ably seconded by General Dundas and Lord Cathcart; nor did the troops ever hesitate, when ordered, to halt, face about, and fight, even in the most disastrous and distressing circumstances.

While the French were making those gigantic efforts at home, which confounded all previous calculations in European warfare, they also made unexpected struggles abroad. They repossessed themselves in the West Indies of Guadeloupe and St. Lucia, made good a landing upon several points in the island of Martinique, and made partial descents on the islands of St. Vincent, Grenada, and Marie Galante. In these various incursions they plundered, in the several islands, property to the amount of one thousand eight hundred millions of livres (about £72,000,000). To put an end to these depredations, a fleet was fitted out in the autumn of the year 1795, for the purpose of conveying a military force to the West Indies; sufficient for not only protecting what yet remained, but recovering that which had been lost. The charge of the land troops was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, with the appointment of commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. In consequence of this appointment, he took the command, and hastened the embarkation; and, although the equinox overtook them, and, in the squalls that usually attend it, several of the transports were lost in the Channel, the fleet made the best of its way to the West Indies, and by the month of March, 1796, the troops were landed and in active operation. St. Lucia was speedily captured by a detachment of the army under Sir John Moore, as was St. Vincent and Grenada by another under General Knox. The Dutch colonies, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, on the coast of Guiana, likewise fell into the hands of the British about the same time, almost without stroke of sword. The remainder of 1796 having been thus employed, Sir Ralph made preparations for attacking, early in 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad. For this purpose, the fleet sailed with all the transports, from the island of Curacao on the morning of the 15th February, 1797, and next day passed through the Barns into the Gulf of Bria,

where they found the Spanish admiral, with four sail of the line and one frigate, at anchor, under cover of the island of Gaspagrande, which was strongly fortified. The British squadron immediately anchored opposite, and almost within gun-shot of the Spanish ships. The frigates, with the transports, were sent to anchor higher up the bay, at the distance of about five miles from the town of Port d'Espagne. Dispositions were immediately made for attacking the town and the ships of war next morning by break of day. By two o'clock of the morning, however, the Spanish squadron was observed to be on fire. The ships burned very fast, one only escaping the conflagration, which was taken possession of by the British. The Spaniards, at the same time that they had set their ships of war on fire, evacuated the island. The troops, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, were of course landed without opposition, and the whole colony fell into the hands of the British. Sir Ralph next made an attack upon Porto Rico, in which he was unsuccessful, and shortly after he returned to Britain, and was received with every mark of respect. He had, in his absence, been complimented with the colonelcy of the second dragoons or Scots Greys, and nominated governor of the Isle of Wight. He was now (1797) advanced to the dignity of the Bath, raised to the rank of a lieutenant-general, and invested with the lucrative governments of Fort George and Fort Augustus.

The disturbed state of Ireland at this time calling for the utmost vigilance, Sir Ralph Abercromby was appointed to the command of the forces in that unhappy country, where he exerted himself most strenuously, though with less success than could have been wished, to preserve order where any degree of it yet remained, and to restore it where it had been violated. He was particularly anxious, by the strictest attention to discipline, to restore the reputation of the army; for, according to his own emphatic declaration, it had become more formidable to its friends than to its enemies. During this command he did not require to direct any military operations in person; and the Marquis Cornwallis having received the double appointment of lord-lieutenant and commander-in-chief of the forces, Sir Ralph transferred his head-quarters to Edinburgh, and, on 31st of May, assumed the command of the forces in Scotland, to which he had been appointed.

In the year 1799, an expedition having been planned for Holland, for the purpose of restoring the Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership, Sir Ralph was again selected to take the chief command. The troops destined for this service being assembled on the coast of Kent, sailed on the 13th of August, under convoy of the fleet which was commanded by Vice-Admiral Mitchell; and, after encountering heavy gales, came to anchor off the Texel, on the 22d of the month. On the 27th, the troops were disembarked to the south-west of the Helder point, without opposition. Scarcely had they begun to move, however, when they were attacked by General Daendels, and a warm, but irregular, action was kept up from five o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, after which the enemy retired, leaving the British in possession of a ridge of sand-hills stretching along the coast from south to north. In this day's evolutions, the enemy lost upwards of one thousand men, and the British about half that number. Encouraged by this success, Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to seize upon the Helder next morning, when he would be in possession of a seaport, an arsenal, and a fleet. The brigades of Generals Moore and Burrard were ordered to be in readiness to make the attack early in the morning; but the garrison was withdrawn through the night, leaving a considerable train of

artillery, a naval magazine, thirteen ships of war, and three Indiamen, which fell into the hands of the British without opposition. Admiral Mitchell, having shipped pilots at the Helder, immediately stood down into the Texel, and offered battle to the Dutch fleet lying there; the whole of which, consisting of twelve sail of the line, surrendered to the British admiral, the sailors refusing to fight, and compelling their officers to give up the ships for the service of the Prince of Orange. Taking the surrender of the fleet as the criterion of Dutch feeling, the most extravagant hopes of the success of the expedition were entertained by the people of England. The sentiments of the people of Holland, generally, were not as yet in unison with those of her sailors, and every precaution was taken for defence. The British army, in the meantime, left the sand-hills, and took up a new position, their right extending to Petten, on the German Ocean, and their left to Oude Sluys on the Zuyder Zee. A fertile country was thus laid open to the invaders; while the canal of Zuyper, immediately in front, contributed to strengthen their position, enabling them to remain on the defensive, until the arrival of additional forces. At day-break of 11th September, the combined Dutch and French army attacked the centre and right of the British lines, from St. Martins to Petten, with a force of 10,000 men, which advanced in three columns; the right, composed of Dutch troops, commanded by General Daendels, against St. Martins; the centre, under De Moncean, upon Zuyper Sluys; and the left, composed entirely of French troops, under General Brune, upon Petten. The attack, particularly on the left and centre, was made with the most daring intrepidity, but was repulsed by the British, and the enemy lost upwards of a thousand men. On this occasion, General Sir John Moore was opposed to General Brune, and distinguished himself by the most masterly manœuvres; and, had the British been sufficiently numerous to follow up their advantage, the United Provinces might have shaken off the French yoke even at this early period. The want of numbers was felt too late; but, to remedy the evil, the Russian troops, engaged for the expedition, were hastily embarked at the ports of Cronstadt and Revel, to the number of seventeen thousand, under the command of General D'Hermann, and were speedily upon the scene of action. The Duke of York now arrived as commander-in-chief; and his army, with the Russians and some battalions of Dutch troops, formed of deserters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the Dutch ships, amounted to upwards of thirty-six thousand men, a force considerably superior to that under Generals Daendels and Brune. In consequence of this, the Duke of York, in concert with D'Hermann, made an immediate attack upon the enemy's position, which was on the heights of Camperdown, and along the high sand-hills, extending from the sea, in front of Petten, to the town of Bergen-op-zoom. Any deficiency of numbers on the part of the enemy was far more than counterbalanced by the advantages of their position; improved, as it was, by strong entrenchments at the intermediate villages, and by the nature of the ground, intersected by wet ditches and canals, whose bridges had been removed, and the roads rendered impassable, either by being broken up, or by means of felled trees stuck in the earth, and placed horizontally, so as to present an almost impenetrable barrier. The attack, however, notwithstanding all disadvantages, was made with the most determined resolution, early on the morning of the 19th of September, and was successful at all points. By eight o'clock in the morning, the Russians, under D'Hermann, had made themselves masters of Bergen-op-zoom; but they no

sooner found the place evacuated, than they flew upon the spoil, and began to plunder the citizens, whom they had professedly come to relieve. The vigilant enemy seized the opportunity to rally his broken battalions, and, being reinforced from the garrison at Alkmaar, attacked the dispersed Russians with so much impetuosity, that the latter were driven from Bergen-op-zoom to Schorel, with the loss of Generals D'Hermann and Tcherchekoff, wounded and taken prisoners. This failure of the Russians compelled the other three columns of the British army to abandon the positions they had already stormed, and return to the station they had left in the morning. For this disappointment three thousand prisoners taken in the engagement was but a poor recompense; while the impression made upon the minds of the Dutch, by the conduct of the Russians, was incalculably injurious to the objects of the expedition. The conflict was renewed on the 2d of October, by another attack on the whole line of the enemy, the troops advancing, as before, in four columns, under Generals Abercromby, D'Esson, Dundas, and Pulteney. The centre ascended the sand-hills at Campe, and carried the heights of Schorel; and, after a vigorous contest, the Russians and British obtained possession of the whole range of sand-hills in the neighbourhood of Bergen-op-zoom; but the severest conflict, and that which decided the fate of the day, was sustained by the first column under Sir Ralph Abercromby. He had marched without opposition to within a mile of Egmont-op-Zee, where a large body of cavalry and infantry waited to receive him. Here Sir John Moore led his brigade to the charge in person; he was met by a counter-charge of the enemy, and the conflict was maintained till evening with unexampled fury. The Marquis of Huntly, who, with his regiment (the ninety-second), was eminently distinguished, received a wound by a musket-ball in the shoulder; and General Sir John Moore, after receiving two severe wounds, was reluctantly carried off the field. Sir Ralph Abercromby had two horses shot under him, but he continued to animate the troops by his example, and the most desperate efforts of the enemy were unavailing. Their loss in this day's engagement was upwards of four thousand men. During the night they abandoned their posts on the Lange Dyke and at Bergen-op-zoom, and next day the British took up the positions that had been occupied by the French at Alkmaar and Egmont-op-Zee. Brune having taken up a strong position between Beverwyck and the Zuyder Zee, it was determined to dislodge him before the arrival of his daily-expected reinforcements. In the first movements made for this purpose the British met with little opposition; but the Russians, under General D'Esson, attempting to gain a height near Buccum, were suddenly charged by an overwhelming body of the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercromby, observing the critical situation of the Russians, hastened with his column to support them. The enemy also sent up fresh forces, and the action, undesignedly by either party, became general along the whole line, from Lemmen to the sea, and was contested on both sides with the most determined obstinacy. About two o'clock in the afternoon, the right and centre of the Anglo-Russian army began to lose ground, and retire upon Egmont; where, with the co-operation of the brigade under Major-General Coote, they succeeded in keeping the enemy in check during the remainder of the day. Evening closed over the combatants, darkened by deluges of rain; yet the work of mutual destruction knew no intermission. The fire of musketry, which ran in undulating lines along the hills, with the thunder-flash of the artillery, and the fiery train of the death-charged shell, lighted up with momentary and fitful blaze the whole

horizon. About ten o'clock at night, worn out by such a lengthened period of exertion, though their mutual hostility was not in the least abated, the contending parties ceased fighting, and the British were left in possession of the ground upon which they had fought, with upwards of two thousand of their companions lying dead around them. General Brune was, in the course of the night or next morning, reinforced by an addition of six thousand men, and the ground he occupied was by nature and art rendered nearly impregnable. The British lay through the night exposed to the weather, which was terrible, on the naked sand-hills; their clothing drenched, and their arms and ammunition rendered useless by the rain. Nor was the inhospitality of the people less than that of the elements; the greater part being violently hostile, and the remainder sunk in supine indifference. Retreat was therefore a measure of necessity, and next night, the 7th of October, about ten o'clock, amidst a deluge of rain, the troops marched back to their former station at Petten and Alkmaar, which they reached without immediate pursuit or any serious loss. To embark, however, upon such a shore, and in the face of such an enemy, without great loss, was impossible; and, to prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood, an armistice was proposed by the Duke of York, till the troops should be quietly embarked. The French general was willing to accede to the proposal, provided the Dutch fleet were restored, and all forts, dykes, &c., &c., left as they had been taken; or, if any improvements had been made upon them, in their improved state. To the first part of the proposal the duke utterly refused for a moment to listen; and, being in possession of the principal dykes, he threatened to break them down and inundate the country. The fleet was not given up; but in lieu thereof, eight thousand French and Dutch prisoners, that had been taken previous to this campaign, were to be restored, with all that had been taken in it, the Dutch seamen excepted. The troops were instantly embarked, and safely landed in England, with the exception of the Russians, who were landed in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey. Though this expedition totally failed in its main object—the liberation of Holland—it was not without advantage. The capture of the Dutch fleet, in the then state of affairs, was of very considerable importance. Nor was the impression it left upon the enemy of the superior skill of British officers, particularly of the subject of this memoir, and the daring valour of British troops, without its use in the succeeding periods of the war.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, now a universal favourite, and esteemed the most skilful officer in the British service, was appointed in the month of June, 1800, to command the troops sent out upon a secret expedition to the Mediterranean, and which were for the time quartered on the island of Minorca, where he arrived on the 22d of June. The very next day the troops were embarked for Leghorn, where they arrived on the 9th of July; but in consequence of an armistice between the French and the Austrians, they were not allowed to land. Part of them now proceeded to Malta, and the remainder sailed back to Minorca. Sir Ralph himself arrived again at that island on the 26th of July, and on the 3d of September the troops were again embarked, and on the 14th the fleet came to anchor off Europa point in the bay of Gibraltar. On the 20th the armament sailed for the bay of Tetuan to procure water, and on the 23d returned to Gibraltar. In a few days the fleet was again ordered to rendezvous in the bay of Tetuan; and, on the 30th of October, the whole, consisting of upwards of two hundred sail, came to anchor off Cadiz, and

preparations were made for landing the troops without delay. On the 6th the troops got into the boats, and everything was ready for the disembarkation. In consequence of a flag of truce from the shore, the landing was delayed, and in the afternoon the troops returned to their respective ships. The negotiations between the commanders having failed, the order was renewed for disembarking the troops next day. This order was again countermanded about midnight ; the morning became stormy, and at break of day the signal was made for the fleet to weigh, and by the afternoon the whole fleet was again under sail. Part of the forces were now ordered for Portugal under the command of general Sir James Pulteney, and the remainder for Malta, where they arrived about the middle of November. Than this sailing backwards and forwards, nothing was ever exhibited more strongly indicative of extreme folly and absolute imbecility in the national councils.

It was now resolved by the British government to drive the French out of Egypt, and the armament, which had uselessly rolled about the Mediterranean for so many months, was appointed for that purpose. Sir Ralph Abercromby, accordingly, embarked at Malta on the 20th of December for the bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania ; where cavalry horses were to be procured, and stores collected for the expedition, which, it was calculated, would sail for Alexandria by the 1st of January, 1801. Many things, however, occurred to retard their preparations. Among others of a like nature, three hundred horses, purchased by order of Lord Elgin, the British ambassador at Constantinople, were found, when they arrived at Marmorice, so small and so galled in their backs, as to be of no use, so that it was found necessary to shoot some, and to sell others at the low price of a dollar a-piece. It was believed that Lord Elgin had paid for a very different description of horses, but the persons to whose care they had been confided had found their account in changing them by the way. Good horses were procured by parties sent into the country for that purpose ; but the sailing of the expedition was in consequence delayed till the end of February, instead of the first of January, as had been originally intended ; and from the state of the weather, and other casualties, the landing could not be attempted before the 8th of March, on which day it was accomplished in Aboukir Bay, in a manner that reflected the highest honour on the British troops. During this delay Bonaparte had found means to reinforce his army in Egypt, and furnish it with all necessary stores ; and the weather, preventing the immediate disembarkation of the troops, enabled the French to make every preparation to receive them. The sand-hills which form the coast, they had lined with numerous bodies of infantry, and every height was bristling with artillery. A most tremendous discharge of grape-shot and shells from the batteries, and of musketry from the infantry that lined the shore, seemed for a moment to stay the progress of the boats as they approached. But it was only for a moment. The rowers swept through the iron tempest to the beach ; the troops leaped on shore, formed as they advanced, and rushing up the slippery declivity without firing a shot, drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. Successive bodies, as they were disembarked, proceeded to the help of their precursors, and, in spite of every obstruction, the whole army was landed before night ; and Sir Ralph Abercromby advancing three miles into the country, took up a position with his right resting upon lake Madyeh or Aboukir, and his left stretching to the Mediterranean. On the 12th he moved forward to attack the French, who were most advantageously posted on a ridge of sand-

hills, their right towards the sea, and their left resting upon the canal of Alexandria. On the morning of the 13th, the army marched in two lines by the left, to turn the right flank of the enemy. Aware of this, the French, with their whole cavalry, and a considerable body of infantry, poured down from the heights and attacked the heads of both lines, but were repulsed by the advanced guard, consisting of the 90th and 92nd regiments, with incomparable gallantry. The first line then formed into two, and advanced, while the second line turned the right of the French army, and drove it from its position. The enemy, however, made a regular retreat, and contested every inch of ground till they had reached the heights of Nicopolis, which form the principal defence of Alexandria. Anxious to carry these heights, Sir Ralph Abercromby unfortunately ordered forward the reserve under Sir John Moore, and the second line under general Huteson, to attack (the latter the right, and the former the left) both flanks at once. Advancing into the open plain, they were exposed to the whole range of the enemy's shot, which they had it not in their power to return; and, after all, the position was found to be commanded by the guns of the forts of Alexandria, so that it could not have been kept though they had stormed it. They were accordingly withdrawn, but with a most serious loss of men; and the British army took up the ground from which the enemy had been driven, occupying a position with its right to the sea and its left to the canal of Alexandria; a situation of great advantage, as it cut off all communication with Alexandria, except by the way of the Desert. In this action, Sir Ralph was nearly enveloped in the charge of the French cavalry, and was only saved by the intrepidity of the 90th regiment. The garrison of Aboukir surrendered on the 18th; but to counterbalance this advantage, the French commander-in-chief, Menou, arrived at Alexandria from Cairo on the 20th, with a reinforcement of nine thousand men. Expecting to take the British by surprise, Menou, next morning, March the 21st, between three and four o'clock, attacked their position with his whole force, amounting to from eleven to twelve thousand men. The action was commenced by a false attack on the left, their main strength being directed against the right, upon which they advanced in great force and with a prodigious noise, shouting, "Vive la France! Vive la Republique!" They were received, however, with perfect coolness by the British troops, who not only checked the impetuosity of the infantry, but repulsed several charges of cavalry. Greater courage was perhaps never exhibited than on this occasion: the different corps of both nations rivalled each other in the most determined bravery, and presented the extraordinary spectacle of an engagement in front, flanks, and rear, at the same time; so much were the contending parties intermingled. Nine hundred of Bonaparte's best soldiers, and from their tried valour denominated Invincibles, succeeded in turning the right of the British, between the walls of a large ruin and a battery. Three times did they storm the battery, and three times were the successive parties exterminated. Getting at last into the rear of the reserve, the 42nd and the 28th regiments charged them with the bayonet, and drove them step by step into the inclosure of the ruin; where, between six and seven hundred of them being already stretched lifeless on the ground, the remainder called out for quarter, and were made prisoners. Not one of them returned. Equally determined was their attack on the centre, and it was there repelled with equal success. A heavy column having broken through the line, the cavalry accompanying it wheeled to their left and charged the rear of the reserve; but this charge was broken by the accidental state of the ground, which

had been excavated into pit-holes about three feet deep for the men to sleep in, before the arrival of their camp equipage. Over these holes they had to make their charge, and in consequence were completely routed, more than three hundred of them being left dead on the spot. Finding all his movements frustrated, Menou at length ordered a retreat, which he was able to effect in good order; the British having too few cavalry to pursue. His loss was supposed to be between three and four thousand men, including many officers, among whom were general Raize, commander of the cavalry, who fell in the field, and two generals who died of their wounds. The loss of the British was also heavy, upwards of seventy officers being killed, wounded, and missing. Among these was the lamented commander-in-chief. Having hastened, on the first alarm, towards the cannonading, Sir Ralph must have ridden straight among the enemy, who had already broken the front line and got into its rear. It was not yet day, and, being unable to distinguish friend from foe, he must have been embarrassed among the assailants, but he was extricated by the valour of his troops. To the first soldier that came up to him, he said, "Soldier, if you know me, don't name me." A French dragoon, at the moment, conjecturing the prize he had lost, rode up to Sir Ralph, and made a cut at him, but not being near enough, only cut through the clothes, and grazed the skin with the point of his sabre. The dragoon's horse wheeling about, brought him again to the charge, and he made a second attempt by a lunge, but the sabre passed between Sir Ralph's side and his right arm. The dragoon being at the instant shot dead, the sabre remained with the general. About the same time it was discovered that he had been wounded in the thigh, and was entreated to have the wound examined; but he treated it as a trifle, and would not for a moment leave the field. No sooner, however, had the enemy begun to retreat, and the excitement of feeling under which he had been acting to subside, than he fainted from pain and the loss of blood. His wound was now examined, and a large incision made in order to extract the ball, but it could not be found. He was then put upon a litter, and carried aboard the *Foudroyant*, where he languished till the 28th, when he died. His body was interred in the burial ground of the commandery of the Grand Master, under the walls of the castle of St Elan, near the town of Valetta in Malta.

Of the character of Sir Ralph Abercromby there can be but one opinion. Bred to arms almost from his infancy, he appeared to be formed for command. His dispositions were always masterly, and his success certain. He had served in America, in the West Indies, in Ireland, in the Netherlands, in Holland, and in Egypt, and had in all of these countries gained himself great distinction. In the two latter countries, especially, he performed services that were of incalculable advantage to his country. The battle of the 21st of March, or of Alexandria, while it decided the fate of Egypt, left an impression of British skill and of British valour upon the minds of both her friends and her enemies, that materially contributed to the splendid results of a contest longer in continuance, and involving interests of greater magnitude, than Britain had ever before been engaged in. The manner in which he repressed the licentiousness of the troops in Ireland, was at once magnanimous and effective; and he ended a life of dignified exertion by a death worthy of a hero. "We have sustained an irreparable loss," says his successor, "in the person of our never enough to be lamented commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that, as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory

will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."¹

Sir Ralph Abercromby was married to Mary Anne, daughter of John Menzies of Fernton, Perthshire; by whom he had issue four sons and three daughters, who survived him. On the official account reaching England of the fate of her lamented husband, his widow was elevated to the peerage, May 28, 1801, as Baroness Abercromby of Aboukir and Tullibody, with remainder to the heirs-male of the deceased general; and, on the recommendation of his majesty, the House of Commons, without one dissentient voice, granted an annuity of two thousand pounds to Lady Abercromby, and the next two succeeding male heirs of the body of Sir Ralph Abercromby, to whom the title of Baron Abercromby should descend. The House of Commons, farther, sensible of the great merits of this distinguished British commander, voted a monument to his memory, at the public expense, which was subsequently erected in St Paul's cathedral.

ABERNETHY, JOHN, an eminent writer on physiology. The birth and parentage of this gentleman were so obscure, that it is impossible to say with certainty whether he was a native of Ireland or of Scotland. It is even affirmed that he was himself ignorant of the country of his birth. Upon the supposition that he was born in Scotland, his name is introduced in the present work. The date of his birth is given loosely as 1763-64. His parents having brought him in his infancy to London, he commenced his education at a day-school in Lothbury, where he acquired the elements of classical literature. Having afterwards been bound apprentice to Mr Charles Blick, surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital, he had the advantage of attending that noble institution, where he eagerly seized every opportunity of making himself practically acquainted with his profession. He also had the advantage of attending the lectures of Mr John Hunter, at the time when that gentleman was commencing the development of those great discoveries which have made his name so famous. The curiosity which those discoveries excited in the public at large, was felt in an uncommon degree by Mr Abernethy, whose assiduity and ardour as a pupil attracted the notice of the lecturer, and rendered the latter his friend for life.

While as yet a very young practitioner, his reputation procured for Mr Abernethy the situation of assistant-surgeon at St Bartholomew's, and he soon after commenced a course of lectures in the hospital, which, though not very successful at first, became in time the most frequented of any in London, so as to lay the foundation of a medical school of the highest reputation in connection with this institution. On the death of Sir Charles Blick, his former master, Mr Abernethy, now considered as the best teacher of anatomy, physiology, and surgery in the metropolis, was elected surgeon to the hospital.

The first publications of Mr Abernethy were a few Physiological Essays, and one on Lumbar Abscess, which, with some additions, formed his first volume, published 1793-97, in 8vo, under the title of "Surgical and Physiological

¹ The following panegyric upon Sir Ralph in another character, was written before his death:—"As a country gentleman, ever attentive to all within the circle of his movement, he stands high in the estimation of his neighbours and dependents; and when his military glory shall have fallen into oblivion, it will be gratefully remembered that he was the friend of the destitute poor, the patron of useful knowledge, and the promoter of education among the meanest of his cottagers: as an instance it may be mentioned, that in the village of Tullibody, on his paternal estate, a reading school, under his immediate inspection, was established many years back."—*Campbell's Journey through Scotland*, 4to, 1802, vol. ii.

Essays." These were characterized by the same strong sense, and plain and forcible illustration, which marked everything that flowed from his tongue and pen till the end of his life. In 1804 appeared another volume, entitled, "Surgical Observations, containing a classification of tumours, with cases to illustrate the history of each species; an account of Diseases," &c.; and, in 1806, "Surgical Observations, Part Second, containing an account of Disorders of the Health in general, and of the digestive organs in particular, which accompany local diseases, and obstruct their cure." The fame of these treatises soon spread, not only throughout England, but over the continent of Europe; and the French surgeons, especially, did homage to the masterly spirit they evinced. Bold and successful operations, practical and lucid descriptions, original and comprehensive views, all combined to enhance the great reputation of the author, and to elevate the character of the national school of which he was so bright an ornament.

In 1814, Mr Abernethy received what might be considered as the highest honour which his profession had to bestow, in being appointed anatomical lecturer to the Royal College of Surgeons. An anecdote illustrative of his sound integrity is told in reference to this era of his life. A fellow of the college having remarked to him, that now they should have something new, Mr Abernethy seriously asked him what he meant. "Why," said the other, "of course you will brush up the lectures which you have been so long delivering at St Bartholomew's Hospital, and let us have them in an improved form." "Do you take me for a fool or a knave?" rejoined Mr Abernethy, "I have always given the students at the Hospital that to which they are entitled—the best produce of my mind. If I could have made my lectures to them better, I would instantly have made them so. I will give the College of Surgeons precisely the same lectures, down to the smallest details." In the year of this honourable appointment, he published, "An Inquiry into the Probability and Rationality of Mr Hunter's Theory of Life; being the subject of the two first lectures delivered before the Royal College of Surgeons of London." The aim of these lectures was to elucidate the doctrine previously laid down by Mr Hunter, that "life, in general, is some principle of activity added by the will of Omnipotence to organized structure, an immaterial soul being superadded, in man, to the structure and vitality which he possesses in common with other animals." Of this work, it is generally allowed that the intentions are better than the philosophy.

Previously to this period, Mr Abernethy had published other treatises besides those already named. One of the most remarkable was, "Surgical Observations on the Constitutional Origin and Treatment of Local Diseases, and on Aneurism," 8vo, 1809. His memorable cases of tying the iliac artery for aneurism are detailed in this volume; cases which may almost be said to form an era in adventurous surgical experiment. Mr Abernethy also wrote works on "Diseases resembling Syphilis, and on Diseases of the Urethra;" "On Injuries of the Head, and Miscellaneous Subjects;" and another volume of *Physiological Essays*. He was likewise the author of the anatomical and physiological articles in *Rees's Cyclopaedia*, previous to the article "Canal." Among his various accomplishments, must be ranked a considerable acquaintance with chemistry; and one of his numerous honours is the having, in company with Mr Howard, discovered fulminating mercury.

Besides his business as a lecturer, Mr Abernethy enjoyed a vast and lucrative

practice as a surgeon. His *manner* in both capacities was marked by many eccentricities, but particularly in the latter. He could not endure the tedious and confused narratives which patients are apt to lay before a consulting surgeon, and, in checking these, was not apt to regard much the rules of good-breeding. Considerable risks were thus encountered for the sake of his advice; but this was generally so excellent, that those who required it were seldom afraid to hazard the slight offence to their feelings with which it was liable to be accompanied. Many anecdotes of Mr Abernethy's rencounters with his patients are preserved in the profession. The two following are given in Sir James Eyre's recent work, "The Stomach and its Difficulties:"—"A very talkative lady, who had wearied the temper of Mr Abernethy, which was at all times impatient of gabble, was told by him, the first moment that he could get a chance of speaking, to be good enough to put out her tongue. 'Now, pray, madam,' said he, playfully, '*keep it out.*' The hint was taken. He rarely met with his match, but on one occasion he fairly owned that he had. He was sent for to an innkeeper, who had had a quarrel with his wife, and who had scored his face with her nails, so that the poor man was bleeding, and much disfigured. Mr Abernethy considered this an opportunity not to be lost for admonishing the offender, and said, 'Madam, are you not ashamed of yourself to treat your husband thus; the husband, who is the head of all, *your* head, madam, in fact?' 'Well, doctor,' fiercely retorted the virago, 'and may I not scratch my own head?' Upon this her friendly adviser, after giving directions for the benefit of the patient, turned upon his heel, and confessed himself beaten for once." But abruptness and rudeness were not his only eccentricities. He carried practical benevolence to a pitch as far from the common line as any of his other peculiarities. Where poverty and disease prevented patients from waiting upon him in his own house, he was frequently known, not only to visit them constantly, and at inconvenient distances, without fee or reward, but generously to supply them from his own purse with what their wants required. Perhaps the most striking, out of the numerous anecdotes which have been related of him, in illustration of his eccentricities, is one descriptive of his courtship, or rather of his no-courtship. "While attending a lady for several weeks, he observed those admirable qualifications in her daughter, which he truly esteemed to be calculated to make the marriage state happy. Accordingly, on a Saturday, when taking leave of his patient, he addressed her to the following purport:—"You are now so well that I need not see you after Monday next, when I shall come and pay you my farewell visit. But, in the meantime, I wish you and your daughter seriously to consider the proposal I am now about to make. It is abrupt and uncereemonious, I am aware; but the excessive occupation of my time, by my professional duties, affords me no leisure to accomplish what I desire by the more ordinary course of attention and solicitation. My annual receipts amount to £—, and I can settle £— on my wife; my character is generally known to the public, so that you may readily ascertain what it is. I have seen in your daughter a tender and affectionate child, an assiduous and careful nurse, and a gentle and ladylike member of a family; such a person must be all that a husband could covet, and I offer my hand and fortune for her acceptance. On Monday, when I call, I shall expect your determination; for I really have not time for the routine of courtship.' In this humour the lady was wooed and won, and the union proved fortunate in every respect. A happier couple never existed."

After a life of great activity, and which proved of much immediate and remote service to mankind, the subject of this memoir expired, at Enfield, on the 20th of April, 1831.

ADAM, ALEXANDER, an eminent grammarian and writer on Roman antiquities, was born at Coats of Burgie, in the parish of Rafford, and county of Moray, about the month of June, 1741. His father, John Adam, rented one of those small farms which were formerly so common in the north of Scotland. In his earlier years, like many children of his own class, and even of a class higher removed above poverty, he occasionally tended his father's cattle. Being destined by his parents, poor as they were, for a learned profession, he was kept at the parish school till he was thought fit to come forward as a bursar, at the university of Aberdeen. He made this attempt, but failed, and was requested by the judges to go back and study for another year at school. This incident only stimulated him to fresh exertions. He was prevented, however, from renewing his attempt at Aberdeen, by the representations of the Rev. Mr Watson, a minister at Edinburgh, and a relation of his mother, who induced him to try his fortune in the metropolis. He removed thither early in the year 1758; but, it appears, without any assured means of supporting himself during the progress of his studies. For a considerable time, while attending the classes at the college, the only means of subsistence he enjoyed, consisted of the small sum of one guinea per quarter, which he derived from Mr Alan Macconochie, (afterwards Lord Meadowbank), for assisting him in the capacity of a tutor. The details of his system of life at this period, as given by his biographer Mr Henderson, are painfully interesting. "He lodged in a small room at Restalrig, in the north-eastern suburbs; and for this accommodation he paid fourpence a-week. All his meals, except dinner, uniformly consisted of oat-meal made into porridge, together with small beer, of which he only allowed himself half a bottle at a time. When he wished to dine, he purchased a penny loaf at the nearest baker's shop; and, if the day was fair, he would despatch his meal in a walk to the Meadows or Hope Park, which is adjoining to the southern part of the city; but if the weather was foul, he had recourse to some long and lonely stair, which he would climb, eating his dinner at every step. By this means all expense for cookery was avoided, and he wasted neither coal nor candles; for, when he was chill, he used to run till his blood began to glow, and his evening studies were always prosecuted under the roof of some one or other of his companions." There are many instances, we believe, among Scottish students, of the most rigid self-denial, crowned at length by splendid success; but there is certainly no case known in which the self-denial was so chastened, and the triumph so grand, as that of Dr Adam. In 1761, when he was exactly twenty, he stood a trial for the situation of head teacher in George Watson's Hospital, Edinburgh, and was successful. In this place he is said to have continued about three years; during which, he was anxiously engaged in cultivating an intimacy with the classics—reading, with great care, and in a critical manner, the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Cicero, and Livy. His views were now directed towards the church, and he was on the eve of being licensed as a preacher of the gospel, when suddenly a prospect opened before him of becoming assistant, with the hope of being eventually the successor, of Mr Matheson, rector of the High School. This appointment he obtained, and in 1771 the increased infirmities of Mr Matheson threw the whole of this charge into the hands of Mr Adam.

The time when he assumed this respectable office was very fortunate. Every department of knowledge in Scotland was at this period adorned by higher names than had ever before graced it; and hence the office of Master in the principal elementary school of the country presented to a man of superior qualifications a fair opportunity of distinguishing himself. This opportunity was not lost upon Mr Adam. He devoted himself with singular assiduity to his duties; and, under his auspices, the school gradually increased in numbers and reputation. Soon after his appointment, he began to compose a series of works to facilitate the study of the Latin language. His *Rudiments of Latin and English Grammar* were published in 1772, and, though composed in a style which appeared to the generality of teachers as a dreadful schism and heresy, met with the approbation of a discerning few, whose praise was sufficient to overbalance the censure of the multitude. His offence consisted in the novel attempt to teach the grammatical rules of Latin in English prose, instead of Latin prose or verse, which latter had been the time-honoured fashion of the schools both of England and Scotland, since the days of the Reformation. The daring innovator was assailed with a storm of abuse by numerous individuals, more especially by those of his own profession.

Among those who took an active part in condemning his work, Dr Gilbert Stuart was very conspicuous. This extraordinary *litterateur* was a relation of Ruddiman; and, as an additional incentive to his hostility, conceived that Adam had gained the rectorship of the High School more by interest than by merit. He accordingly filled the periodical works of the day with ridicule and abuse directed against the unfortunate grammar. Amongst other pasquinades, appeared an account, in Latin, of a Roman funeral, in which that work was personified as the dead body, while the chief mourner was meant to represent Mr Adam, sorrowing for the untimely fate of his best-beloved child. The other persons officiating are introduced under the technical terms in use among the ancient Romans; and, to heighten the ridicule, and give it aid from local circumstances, the ingenious satirist placed in front of the mourners, a poor lunatic of the name of Duff, well known in Edinburgh at the time for his punctual attendance at the head of all funeral processions. While his work was still the subject of censure, the ingenious author was partly compensated for all his sufferings by a degree of LL.D., which was conferred upon him by the College of Edinburgh, in 1780. Some years after, the grammar began gradually to make its way in schools, and finally he had the satisfaction of seeing it adopted in his own seminary. Among the great names which at an early period had sanctioned it with their approbation, are those of Lord Kames, Bishop Lowth, and Dr Vincent, Master of St Paul's school.

The next work of Dr Adam is entitled, *A Summary of Geography and History*, but the date of the first edition is not mentioned by his biographer. In 1791, he published his excellent compendium of *Roman Antiquities*, and in 1800 his *Classical Biography*; for the copyright of the former he received £800, and for that of the latter £300. Dr Adam's last, and perhaps his most laborious work, was his *Latin Dictionary*, published in 1805. Towards the beginning, his illustrations are brief, but, as he proceeds, they gradually become more copious. It was his intention to add an English-and-Latin part, and to enlarge the other to a considerable extent. In this favourite plan he had made some progress at the time of his death.

On the 13th of December, 1809, Dr Adam was seized in the High School with

an alarming indisposition, which had all the appearance of apoplexy. Having been conducted home, he was put to bed, and enjoyed a sound sleep, which appeared to have arrested the progress of the disease, for he was afterwards able to walk about his room. The apoplectic symptoms, however, returned in a few days, and he fell into a state of stupor. His last words marked the gradual darkening of the ray of life and intellect beneath this mortal disorder. He said, "It grows dark, boys—you may go—" his mind evidently wandering at that moment to the scene where he had spent the better part of his life. This twilight soon settled down into the night of death: he expired early in the morning of the 18th December, 1809. The death of the amiable and excellent Dr Adam operated, among his numerous friends and admirers, like a shock of electricity. Men of all ages and denominations were loud in lamenting an event which had bereaved them of a common benefactor. The effect of the general feeling was a resolution to honour him with what is a very rare circumstance in Scotland, a public funeral.

The life of Dr Adam proves, had any proof been wanting, the possibility of rising to distinction in this country from any grade of life, and through whatsoever intervening difficulties. In 1758 and 1759 he was a student living at the inconceivably humble rate of four guineas a-year; in ten years thereafter, he had qualified himself for, and attained, a situation which, in Scotland, is an object of ambition to men of considerable literary rank. The principal features of his character were, unshaken independence and integrity, ardour in the cause of public liberty, the utmost purity of manners and singleness of heart, and a most indefatigable power of application to the severest studies. "His external appearance was that of a scholar who dressed neatly for his own sake, but who had never incommoded himself with fashion in the cut of his coat, or in the regulation of his gait. Upon the street he often appeared in a studious attitude, and in winter always walked with his hands crossed, and thrust into his sleeves. His features were regular and manly, and he was above the middle size. In his well-formed proportions, and in his firm regular pace, there appeared the marks of habitual temperance. He must have been generally attractive in his early days, and, in his old age, his manners and conversation enhanced the value and interest of every qualification. When he addressed his scholars, when he commended excellence, or when he was seated at his own fireside with a friend on whom he could rely, it was delightful to be near him; and no man could leave his company without declaring that he loved Dr Adam."

ADAM, ROBERT, an eminent architect, was born at Edinburgh in the year 1728. His father, William Adam, of Maryburgh, in the county of Fife, also distinguished himself as an architect; Hopetoun House, and the Royal Infirmary at Edinburgh, are specimens of his abilities. Robert, the second son, inherited his father's taste, and lived in a time more favourable to its development. He was educated in the university of Edinburgh, where he enjoyed the kind attentions of Robertson, Smith, and Ferguson; all of whom were his father's friends. As he advanced in life, he was on friendly and intimate terms with Archibald Duke of Argyll, Sir Charles Townshend, and the Earl of Mansfield. About the year 1754, with a view to improve his knowledge of architecture, he travelled on the continent, and resided three years in Italy, where he surveyed the magnificent specimens of Roman architecture; the buildings of the ancients, in his opinion, being the proper school of the architectural student. But while he beheld with much pleasure the remains of the public buildings of the Romans,

he regretted to perceive that hardly a vestige of their private houses or villas was anywhere to be found. In tracing the progress of Roman architecture, he had remarked that it had declined previous to the age of Dioclesian; but he was also convinced that the liberality and munificence of that emperor had revived, during his reign, a better taste, and had formed artists who were capable of imitating the more elegant styles of the preceding ages. He had seen this remarkably exemplified in the public baths at Rome, which were erected by Dioclesian. The interest which he felt in this particular branch of Roman remains, and his anxiety to behold a good specimen of the private buildings of this wonderful people, induced him to undertake a voyage to Spalatro in Dalmatia, to visit and examine the palace of Dioclesian, where, after his resignation of the empire, in 305, that emperor spent the last nine years of his life. He sailed from Venice in 1754, accompanied by two experienced draughtsmen, and M. Clerisseau, a French antiquary and artist. On their arrival at Spalatro, they found that the palace had not suffered less from dilapidations by the inhabitants, to procure materials for building, than from the injuries of time; and that, in many places, the very foundations of the ancient structures were covered with modern houses. When they began their labours, the vigilant jealousy of the government was alarmed, and they were soon interrupted; for suspecting their object was to view and make plans of the fortifications, the governor issued a peremptory order, commanding them to desist. It was only through the influence and mediation of General Græme, the commander-in-chief of the Venetian forces (probably a Scotsman), that they were at length permitted to resume their labours; and in five weeks they finished plans and views of the remaining fragments, from which they afterwards executed perfect designs of the whole building. Mr Adam soon after returned to England, and speedily rose to professional eminence. In 1762, he was appointed architect to their majesties, and in the year following he published, in one volume large folio, "Ruins of the Palace of the emperor Dioclesian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia." This splendid work contains seventy-one plates, besides letter-press descriptions. He had at this time been elected a member of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, and in 1768 he was elected to represent Kinross-shire in Parliament; which was probably owing to the local influence of his family. A seat in the House of Commons being incompatible with employment under the crown, he now resigned his office as architect to their majesties; but continued to prosecute his professional career with increasing reputation, being much employed by the English nobility and gentry in constructing new and embellishing ancient mansions. In the year 1773, in conjunction with his brother, James Adam, who also rose to considerable reputation as an architect, he commenced "The Works in Architecture of R. and J. Adam," which before 1776 had reached a fourth number, and was a work of equal splendour with the one above referred to. The four numbers contain, among other productions, Sion House, Caen Wood, Luton Park House, the Gateway of the Admiralty, and the General Register House at Edinburgh; all of which have been admired for elegant design and correct taste; though the present age, in its rage for a severe simplicity, might desire the absence of certain minute ornaments, with which the Adams were accustomed to fill up vacant spaces. Before this period, the two brothers had reared in London that splendid monument of their taste, the Adelphi; which, however, was too extensive a speculation to be profitable. They were obliged, in 1774, to obtain an act of parliament to dispose of the houses by way of lottery. The

chief Scottish designs of Adam, besides the Register Office, were the new additions to the University of Edinburgh, and the Infirmary of Glasgow. "We have also seen and admired," says a biographer, "elegant designs executed by Mr Adam, which were intended for the South Bridge and South Bridge Street of Edinburgh; and which, if they had been adopted, would have added much to the decoration of that part of the town. But they were considered unsuitable to the taste or economy of the times, and were therefore rejected. Strange incongruities," continues the same writer, "appear in some buildings which have been erected from designs by Mr Adam. But of these it must be observed, that they have been altered or mutilated in execution, according to the convenience or taste of the owner; and it is well known that a slight deviation changes the character and mars the effect of the general design. A lady of rank was furnished by Mr Adam with the design of a house; but on examining the building after it was erected, he was astonished to find it out of all proportion. On inquiring the cause, he was informed that the pediment he had designed was too small to admit a piece of new sculpture which represented the arms of the family, and, by the date which it bore, incontestably proved its antiquity. It was therefore absolutely necessary to enlarge the dimensions of the pediment to receive this ancient badge of family honour, and sacrifice the beauty and proportion of the whole building. We have seen a large public building which was also designed by Mr Adam; but when it was erected, the length was curtailed of the space of two windows, while the other parts remained according to the original plan. It now appears a heavy unsightly pile, instead of exhibiting that elegance of proportion and correctness of style which the faithful execution of Mr Adam's design would have probably given it. To the last period of his life, Mr Adam displayed the same vigour of genius and refinement of taste; for in the space of one year immediately preceding his death, he designed eight great public works, besides twenty-five private buildings, so various in style, and beautiful in composition, that they have been allowed by the best judges to be sufficient of themselves to establish his fame as an unrivalled artist." Mr Adam died on the 3d of March, 1792, by the bursting of a blood-vessel, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. It remains only to be said that, while his works commanded the admiration of the public, his natural suavity of manners, joined to his excellent moral character, had made a deep impression upon the circle of his own private friends. His brother James, who has been referred to as associated with him in many of his works, died October 20, 1794.

ADAMSON, HENRY, a poet of the seventeenth century, and probably a relative of the subject of the following article, was the son of James Adamson, who was dean of guild in Perth, anno 1600, when the Gowrie conspiracy took place in that city. The poet was educated for the pulpit, and appears to have made considerable progress in classical studies, as he wrote Latin poetry above mediocrity. He enjoyed the friendship and esteem of a large circle of the eminent men of that age, particularly Drummond of Hawthornden, who induced him, in 1638, to publish a poem entitled, "Mirthful Musings for the death of Mr Gall;" being in fact a versified history of his native town, full of quaint allegorical allusions suitable to the taste of that age. A new edition of this curious poem, which had become exceedingly rare, was published in 1774, with illustrative notes by Mr James Cant. The ingenious author died in 1639, the year after the publication of his poem.

ADAMSON, PATRICK, Archbishop of St Andrews. This prelate, whose name occupies so remarkable a place in the history of the Scottish Reformation, was born of humble parents, in the town of Perth, in the year 1543. Such is the date assigned; but we think it may be safely carried two or three years farther back, as we find his name in the roll of the first General Assembly held by the reformed church of Scotland, in 1560, as one of those persons belonging to St Andrews who were fit for ministering and teaching; while, only two years after, we find him minister of Ceres, in Fifeshire, with a commission to plant churches from Dee to Etham. Great as were the emergencies of the infant kirk at this time from the want of ministers, it is scarcely to be thought that it would have appointed to such important charges a youth who had not yet attained the age of twenty. Previous to this period he had studied at the university of St Andrews, where it is likely he was distinguished by those talents and literary acquirements that subsequently brought him into such notice, and, after having gone through the usual course, he graduated as Master of Arts. His name at this period was Patrick Consteane, or Constance, or Constantine, for in all these forms it is written indifferently; but how it afterwards passed into Adamson we have no means of ascertaining. At the close of his career at college, he opened a school in Fife, and soon obtained the notice and patronage of James M'Gill of Rankellor, one of the judges of the Court of Session, who possessed considerable political influence. He had not long been minister of Ceres, when we find him impatient to quit his charge; and accordingly, in 1564, he applied to the General Assembly for leave "to pass to other countries for a time, to acquire increase of knowledge," but was inhibited to leave his charge without the Assembly's license. That license, however, he seems at length to have obtained, and probably, also, before the meeting of the Assembly in the following year, when they published such stringent decisions against those ministers who abandon their spiritual charges. Patrick Constance, or, as we shall henceforth call him, Adamson, now appointed tutor of the son of M'Gill of Rankellor, passed over with his young charge, who was destined for the study of the civil law, to Paris, at that time the chief school of the distinguished jurisconsults of Europe.

Adamson had not been long in Paris when such adventures befel him as might well make him sigh for the lowly obscurity of Ceres. In the course of events that had occurred in Scotland, during his absence, were the marriage of Queen Mary and Henry Darnley, and the birth of their infant, afterwards James VI.; and Adamson, who at this time was more of a courtier than a politician, and more of a poet than either, immediately composed a triumphant "carmen" on the event, entitled, *Serenissimi et nobilissimi Scotia, Anglia, Francia, et Hibernia Principis, Henrici Stuarti Illustrissimi Herois, ac Mariae Reginae amplissima Filii, Genethliacum*. The very title was a startling one, both to France and England, the great political questions of which countries it at once prejudged, by giving them the Scottish queen for their lawful, indisputable sovereign. Had this poem, which was published a few days after the event, been produced in England, its author would scarcely have escaped an awkward examination before the Star Chamber; but as it was, he was within the reach of Catherine de Medicis, to the full as jealous of her authority as Elizabeth herself, and far more merciless in exercising it. Adamson was therefore rewarded for his Latin poetry by a six months' imprisonment, which perhaps would have been succeeded by a worse infliction, had it not been for the media-

tion of Mary herself, backed by that of some of her chief nobles. It did not at that time suit the policy of France to break with Scotland, and the poet was set at liberty. Having thus had a sufficient sojourn in Paris, Adamson repaired with his pupil to Bourges, where both entered themselves as students of law, a science which the Scottish ministers of the day frequently added to that of theology. Even here, however, he was not long allowed to remain in safety. The massacre of St. Bartholomew—that foul national blot of France, and anomaly of modern history—burst out with the suddenness of a tornado across a tranquil sky; and, amidst the ruin that followed, no Protestant, over the whole extent of France, could be assured of his life for a single hour. Adamson had his full share of the danger, and narrowly escaped its worst, by finding shelter in a lowly hostelry; the master of which was afterwards flung from the top of his own house, and killed on the pavement below, for having given shelter to heretics. While immured in this dreary confinement, that continued for seven months, and which he fitly termed his sepulchre, Adamson appears to have consoled himself with Latin poetry upon themes suited to his condition; one attempt of this nature being the tragedy of Herod, and the other a version of the book of Job. We may notice here, that he had not been lost sight of during this protracted residence in France, by his brethren, or the church at home; and that, in the year previous to the massacre, the General Assembly had once and again desired him to return, and resume his ministry. But to this earnest request he, in the first instance, craved leisure for careful deliberation, and after, sent a full answer, evidently in the negative, as he did not see fit to comply. But the perils in which he was afterwards involved, and the long confinement he endured, had probably brought him to a more submissive, or at least a safer mode of thinking; for, as soon as he was able to emerge, one of the first uses which he made of his liberty was to make preparations for returning home, and resuming those ministerial labours which he had good cause to regret he ever had abandoned.

On the return of Patrick Adamson to Scotland, he seems to have been favourably received by his brethren, notwithstanding his previous recusancy. His reception, indeed, could scarcely have been otherwise than cordial, as he had so lately been all but a martyr for Protestantism in the midst of a terrible persecution. His return was at a critical period; for the archbishopric of St Andrews was at that time vacant, and, notwithstanding the Presbyterian doctrine of parity, which had been laid down as a fundamental principle of the Scottish church, the chief prelate offices were still continued, through the overbearing influence of those nobles who now directed the government of the country. But it was from no love of Episcopacy in the abstract that these magnates continued such charges, obnoxious though they were to the church and the people at large, but that they might derive from them a profitable revenue, as lay proprietors of the livings. In this way the Earl of Morton had acquired a claim to the revenues of the archbishopric of St Andrews, and only needed some ecclesiastic who could wear the title, and discharge its duties, for a small per-centage of the benefice. It was a degrading position for a churchman, and yet there were too many who were willing to occupy it, either from a vain-glorious love of the empty name, or an ambitious hope of converting it into a substantial reality. Among these aspirants for the primacy of Scotland, Patrick Adamson was suspected to be one; and it was thought that he expected to succeed through the influence of his patron, M'Gill of Rankellor. These

surmises, his subsequent conduct but too well justified. But Morton had already made his election in favour of John Douglas, who was inducted into the office, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of John Knox. The conduct of Adamson on this occasion was long after remembered when he would have wished it to be forgot. The week after the induction, and when the greatest concourse of people was expected, he ascended the pulpit and delivered a vehement and sarcastic sermon against the Episcopal office as then exercised in Scotland. "There are three sorts of bishops," he said; "My lord Bishop, my lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My lord Bishop was in the papistry; my lord's Bishop is now, when my lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure; and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel." He saw that, for the present at least, he could not be primate of St Andrews, and therefore he turned his attention to the more humble offices of the church. And there, indeed, whatever could satisfy the wishes of a simple presbyter was within his reach; for he was not only in general esteem among his brethren, but highly and justly valued for his scholarship, in consequence of his catechism of Calvin in Latin heroic verse, which he had written in France, and was about to publish in Scotland with the approbation of the General Assembly. He now announced his willingness to resume the duties of the ministry; but his intimation was coupled with a request that had somewhat of a secular and selfish appearance. It was, that a pension which had been granted to him by the late regent out of the teinds of the parsonage of Glasgow, should be secured to him; and that the procurators of the Assembly should be commissioned to aid him to that effect. His request was granted, and he once more became a minister. The town of Paisley was his sphere of duty, according to the appointment of the Assembly. In addition to this, he was subsequently appointed commissioner of Galloway, an office which resembled that of a bishop as to its duties, but divested of all its pre-eminence and emolument. Some of the best men of the kirk had undertaken this thankless office with alacrity, and discharged its duties with diligence; but such was not the case with Patrick Adamson; and when his remissness as a commissioner was complained of to the General Assembly, he acknowledged the justice of the accusation, but pleaded in excuse, that no stipend was attached to the office.

Of the labours of Adamson while minister of Paisley, no record has been preserved. His time there, however, was brief, as a new sphere was opened to his ambition. The great subject of anxiety at this period in the church, was the construction of the Book of Policy, otherwise called the Second Book of Discipline, and procuring its ratification by the government; but the chief obstacle in the way was the Earl of Morton, now regent, whose principal aim, besides enriching himself with the ecclesiastical revenues, was to bring the two churches of England and Scotland into as close a conformity as possible, in order to facilitate the future union of the two kingdoms under the reign of his young master, James VI. Here it is that we find Adamson busy. He became an active negotiator for the Book of Policy, and while he managed to secure the confidence of the leading men in the church, he ingratiated himself into the favour of the regent; so that when the latter chose him for his chaplain, the brethren seem to have hoped that the accomplishment of their purpose would be facilitated by having such an advocate at court. But never were ecclesiastics more thoroughly disappointed in their hopes from such a quarter. The archbishopric of St Andrews had again become vacant, and Morton nominated Adamson to the

see; who, on receiving the appointment, began even already to show that he would hold it independently of the authority of the church, by refusing to submit to the usual trial and examination of the Assembly. In this he persisted, and entered office against the acts and ordinances of the Assembly provided for such occasions. While chaplain to the regent, he had been wont, while preaching, and giving his glosses upon texts of Scripture, to say, "The prophet would mean this"—a phrase so usual with him on such occasions, that his hearers could not help noticing it. At length, when he became primate of Scotland, Captain Montgomery, one of the regent's officers, exclaimed, with dry humour, "I never knew what the prophet meant till now!" As Adamson's entering into the archbishopric was such an act of contravention to the authority of the church, the Assembly, at one of its meetings in 1577, resolved to institute proceedings against the offender. But even this formidable danger he was able to avert for the time with his wonted craft. He professed the utmost humility, and offered to lay down his office at the feet of the Assembly, and be ordered at their pleasure, but represented how desirable it would be to postpone all such proceedings until the Book of Policy had been finished, and ratified by the regent. The matter was thus reduced to a mere question of time, and his suggestion prevailed.

The great subject now at issue was the Book of Ecclesiastical Policy, the Magna Charta of the Church of Scotland, upon the passing of which its rights and liberties as a national church were at stake. It was, as might have been expected, completely Presbyterian in its discipline, and subversive of that episcopal rule which the court was labouring to establish. Among these enactments, it was decreed, that no bishop should be designated by his title, but his own name, as a brother, seeing he belonged to a church that has but one Lord, even Christ—that no bishops should thenceforth be appointed in it; and that no minister should accept the office on pain of deprivation. Against such conclusions it is not wonderful that Adamson demurred. But as himself and the bishop of Aberdeen constituted the entire minority in the Assembly, his opposition went no farther than to procrastinate any final conclusion. But the Policy was at length concluded, and ready to be presented to the government, and for this, Adamson had reserved his master stroke. The book was to be subscribed by every member individually, but this form the archbishop opposed. "Nay," he said, "we have an honest man, our clerk, to subscribe for all, and it would derogate from his faithfulness and estimation if we should all severally subscribe." The difference appeared so trivial, that the brethren assented to the proposal, although some of them seem to have entertained a lurking suspicion that all was not right; so that Mr Andrew Hay, minister of Renfrew, could not help exclaiming, "Well, if any man comes against this, or denies it hereafter, he is not honest." He soon showed at whom his suspicions pointed, by stepping up to Adamson, and saying to him in the presence of three or four by-standers, "There is my hand, Mr Patrick; if you come against this hereafter, consenting now so thoroughly to it, I will call you a knave, were it never so publicly." The other accepted the challenge, and thus the matter ended for the present. The Book of Policy was to be presented to the Lords of Articles for ratification on the part of the government; and strangely enough, Adamson was commissioned to present it. Morton and the lords asked him if he had given his assent to these enactments; to which he answered that he had not, and that he had refused to subscribe to them. Here was a loop-hole of

escape for the council : the Archbishop of St. Andrews had withheld his assent, and they could do no less than follow the example. The Book was rejected, and the ministers were left to divine the cause of the refusal. But Andrew Hay, on inquiring of several members of council, who told him the particulars, and laid the whole blame of the refusal on Adamson, soon saw that he had a pledge to redeem ; and on the archbishop passing by at that instant, he gripped him by the hand, looked him angrily in the face, and exclaimed, in presence of the others, " O knave, knave, I will crown thee the knave of all knaves ! " It is enough to add here, that the Book of Policy, after having been delayed three years longer, was in 1581 thoroughly ratified and ordained in every point, and ordered to be registered in the books of the Assembly. As for Adamson, we find him employed during this interval in preaching in St Andrews, lecturing in the college, and attending the meetings of the General Assembly, but with no greater authority than that of the ordinary brethren. But symptoms even already had occurred to show, that the court favour upon which he was willing to build, was but a sandy foundation, for his powerful patron, the earl of Morton, had been brought to the block. He forthwith prepared himself, therefore, to recognize the authority of the kirk in the doctrine of bishops, to which he had hitherto been opposed, and even gave his subscription to the articles of the Book of Policy, which he had hitherto withheld. This was in St Andrews, before the celebrated Andrew Melville, and a party of his friends, who were assembled with him. But all this was insufficient : he must also secure the countenance of the party in power, whatever for the time it might be ; and for this purpose he passed over to Edinburgh, and took his seat in the Convention of Estates. Here, however, his reception was so little to his liking, that he found he must side wholly with the kirk. He therefore addressed himself to the ministers of Edinburgh, with professions which his subsequent conduct showed to be downright hypocrisy. He told them that he had come over to the court in the spirit of Balaam, on purpose to curse the kirk, and do evil ; but that God had so wrought with him, that his heart was wholly changed, so that he had advocated and voted in the church's behalf—and that henceforth he would show further and further fruits of his conversion and good meaning. This self-abasing comparison of himself to Balaam must have staggered the unfavourable suspicions of the most sceptical ; at all events, it did so with the apostolic John Durie, who rejoiced over the primate's conversion, and wrote a flattering account of it to James Melville. The latter, in consequence, visited Adamson upon his return, and told him the tidings he had received, for which he heartily thanked God, and offered the archbishop the right hand of Christian fellowship. The other, still continuing his penitent grimace, described the change that had passed upon him at great length, which he attributed to the working of the Spirit within him. Perhaps he overacted his part, for Melville only observed in reply, " Well, that Spirit is an upright, holy, and constant Spirit, and will more and more manifest itself in effects ; but it is a fearful thing to lie against him ! "

It was indeed full time for the Archbishop of St Andrews not only to recover his lost credit with the kirk, but the community at large. He was generally accused of the vices of intemperance and gluttony ; he was noted as an unfaithful paymaster, so that he stood upon the score of most of the shopkeepers in the town ; and what was still worse, he was accused of consorting with witches, and availing himself of their unlawful power ! We of the nineteenth century

can laugh at such a charge, and imagine it sufficient not only to disprove itself, but weaken all the other charges brought against him. But in the sixteenth century it was no such laughing matter; for there were not only silly women in abundance to proclaim themselves witches, but wise men to believe them. Even the pulpits of England as well as Scotland resounded with sermons against witchcraft; and a learned prelate, while preaching before Elizabeth, assured her Majesty, that the many people who were dying daily, in spite of all the aid of leechcraft, were thus brought to their end by spells and incantations.¹ While this was the prevalent belief, a person having recourse to such agency was wilfully and deliberately seeking help from the devil, and seeking it where he thought it could best be found. Now, Adamson, among his other offences, had fallen into this most odious and criminal predicament. He was afflicted with a painful disease, which he called a "fœdity;" and being unable to obtain relief from the regular practitioners, he had recourse to the witches of Fife, and among others, to a notable woman, who pretended to have learned the art of healing from a physician who had appeared to her after he was dead and buried! This wretched creature, on being apprehended and convicted of sorcery, or what she meant to be such, was sentenced to suffer death, as she would have been in any other country of Europe, and was given in charge to the Archbishop for execution. But the woman made her escape, and this, it was supposed she did, through Adamson's connivance. After this statement, it needs scarcely be wondered at, that foremost in the accusations both from the pulpit and in church courts, the crime of seeking aid from Satan should have been specially urged against him. The man who will presumptuously attempt "to call spirits from the vasty deep," incurs the guilt of sorcery whether they come or not.

While such was the evil plight to which the archbishop was reduced, and out of which he was trying to struggle as he best could, the condition of public affairs was scarcely more promising for his interests. In the Assembly held in April, 1582, he had seen Robert Montgomery, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was his constant ally in every Episcopal movement, arraigned at their bar, reduced to the most humbling confessions, and dismissed with the fear of deposition hanging over him. In the same year, the Raid of Ruthven had occurred, by which the royal power was coerced, and presbytery established in greater authority than ever. Dismayed by these ominous symptoms, Adamson withdrew from public notice to his castle of St Andrews, where he kept himself "like a toad in his hole," giving out that his painful "fœdity" was the cause of his retirement. But at length the sky began to brighten, and the primate to venture forth after a whole year of concealment. The king emancipated himself from his nobles of the Raid, and came to St Andrews, upon which the archbishop, flinging off his sickness like a worn-out cloak, resumed his abandoned pulpit with royalty for an auditor, and preached such sermons as were well

¹ The preacher was no other than the learned Bishop Jewel. "Witches and sorcerers within these last few years," he said, "are marvellously increased within your Grace's realm. These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your Grace's subjects pine away even unto the death: their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore your poor subjects' most humble petition to your Highness is, that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution. For the shoal of them is great, their doing horrible, their malice intolerable, their examples most miserable: and I pray God they never practise further than upon the subject."

fitted to ingratiate himself into the favour of the young sovereign. They were furious declamations against the lords of the Raid, against the ministers of the kirk by whom they had been countenanced, and against all their proceedings by which the headlong will of James had been reduced within wholesome limits; and these, too, were delivered in such fashion, as, we are informed by James Melvill, "that he who often professed from the pulpit before that he had not the spirit of application, got the gift of application by inspiration of such a spirit as never spoke in the scriptures of God." Among the other effects of the Raid of Ruthven, was the banishment of the king's unworthy favourites, the Earl of Arran, and the Duke of Lennox, the former from the royal presence, and the latter from the country; and Lennox took his exile so much to heart, that he died soon after he had arrived in France, while James continued to bewail his loss. Here then was a favourable theme for the archbishop. The chief offence alleged against Lennox was, that though outwardly a Protestant, he had not only lived, but even died a Papist; and from this stigma it was Adamson's main effort to clear the memory of the departed. He therefore boldly asserted, in his sermon, that Lennox had died a good Protestant, and in proof of this he exhibited in the pulpit a scroll, which he called the Duke's testament. It happened unluckily for the preacher, however, that an honest merchant woman, who sat near the pulpit, looked narrowly at this important document, and saw with astonishment that it was an account of her own, which she had sent to the archbishop for a debt of some four or five years' standing, but which, like other reckonings of the kind, he had left unpaid!

Adamson's loyalty was soon rewarded, and in a way that best accorded with his wishes. He was to be employed as ambassador or envoy from the king to the court of London. What was the ostensible object of his mission does not appear; but its real purport was, the suppression of Presbyterianism in Scotland, and the establishment of such a form of Episcopacy in its stead, as might make the union of the two countries more complete, when James should become king of both. But in such an office the messenger behaved to go wisely and warily to work, as Elizabeth was apt to take fire at every movement that pointed to a succession in her throne. Another serious difficulty interposed in the very threshold of the archbishop's departure. He had already been charged before the presbytery of St Andrews, as corrupt both in life and doctrine: the trial was removed to the synod, and was finally remitted to the General Assembly, at whose bar he must justify himself, or be deposed for non-appearance; and he thus felt himself between the horns of a dilemma in which his compearance or absence might be equally fatal. If, however, he could only get the trial delayed until he had accomplished his mission, he might then brave it, or quash it with impunity. He therefore called sickness to his aid, and pretended that he was going to the wells of Spa, in Germany, for the recovery of his health; and this was nothing more than reasonable, even though he should take London by the way. Forth therefore he went, unhindered and unsuspected; and, if there is any truth in "The Legend of the Lymmar's Life," a satirical poem, written by Robert Semple, the archbishop's conduct during this embassy was anything but creditable to his employers. His chief aim, indeed, seems to have been to replenish his extenuated purse; and, provided this was accomplished, he was by no means scrupulous about the means. Even horses, books, and gowns came into his permanent possession under the name of loans. His approach to the palace for his first, and, as it turned out, his last audience, was equally

unseemly, for he advanced to the hallowed walls of the virgin Queen with as little fastidiousness, as if he had been about to enter the dingy habitation of some Scottish baron in one of the closes of the Canongate, so that a porter, who espied him from the gate, rushed out and rebuked his indecorum with a cudgel. But, amidst all his Scapin-like tricks in the English metropolis, from which he seems to have derived for the time a comfortable revenue, Adamson was not unmindful of the real object of his journey, which he pursued with a diligence worthy of a better cause. He endeavoured to enlist the prejudices of the Queen against the ministers of Scotland, and such of the nobility as favoured them; he consulted with the bishops upon the best means of conforming the Scottish to the English church; and, aware of the purpose of his own court to banish or silence the best of the clergy, he wished them to send learned and able ministers to supply the pulpits of those who were to be displaced. But, not content with this, he endeavoured to bring the kirk of Scotland into discredit with the foreign Reformed churches of France, Geneva, and Zurich, by sending to them a list of garbled or distorted passages, as propositions extracted from the Scottish confession, and craving their opinion as to their soundness. It was a crafty device, and might have been attended with much mischief, had it not been that an antidote to the bane was at this time in England, in the person of Mr Andrew Melville, a more accomplished scholar, as well as a more able and eloquent writer, than Adamson himself. He drew up a true statement of the subjects propounded, and sent them to the foreign churches, by which the archbishop's design was speedily frustrated. But the work of mere ecclesiastical diplomacy does not seem to have been sufficient for the restless and scheming mind of Adamson, so that he was suspected of intriguing with the French and Spanish ambassadors, and connecting himself with the plot of Throckmorton, the object of which was the liberation of Mary, and the restoration of Popery. It was a strange period of plots and conspiracies, where Protestant, Papist, and Puritan, priest and layman, foreigner and Englishman, were often mingled together as in a seething and bubbling cauldron, for the concoction of a charm by which a cure for every public evil was to be effected. It was immediately on the detection of this Throckmorton conspiracy, and the apprehension of its author, that the archbishop secretly withdrew from England and returned home, after having been employed fully six months in these, and other such devices, in London.

While Adamson had thus been occupied in England, in the establishment of Episcopacy, the government at home had not been idle; and the worthless Earl of Arran, who, since the suppression of the Raid of Ruthven, had returned to court, and acquired a greater ascendancy over the weak mind of James than ever, proceeded to put his plan in execution of silencing, imprisoning, and banishing the best and most distinguished of the Scottish clergy. It was thus that the flocks were to be brought to helplessness, and a new order of shepherds introduced. The list of the persecuted was a large one; but among the most illustrious of these were some of the most distinguished lights of the Scottish Reformation, such as Andrew Melville, John Davidson, Walter Balcanquhal, and James Lawson. Of these we can only particularize the last, as his closing scene was but too intimately connected with the history of Patrick Adamson. Lawson had been the friend and fellow-labourer of Knox, whom he succeeded as minister of Edinburgh; and in this important charge, while he was closely connected with all the principal ecclesiastical movements of the period, he was

distinguished by his gentleness, self-denial, and piety. But these were the very qualities that now marked him out as a victim; and the imperious Arran did not hesitate to threaten that, though his head were as big as a hay-stack, he would make it fly from his shoulders. Lawson knew that his life was aimed at, and, like several of his brethren thus circumstanced, he fled to England, and took up his residence at London, in one of the lanes leading from Cheapside. But the uncongenial climate, and, above all, the defection of many of his flock during his absence, so heavily afflicted him, that he fell into a disease, of which he died in little more than a month. Upon his death-bed, the English who visited him were edified with his pious remarks, which they carefully treasured up for their families and acquaintances; and his last prayers were for mercy to those who would neither enter the kingdom of God themselves, nor suffer others to enter therein. And will it be believed that Patrick Adamson, the man for whom in especial he had so prayed, conceived the idea of perverting such a death-bed to his own political purposes? But so it was. He sat down with the pen of a ready writer, and composed an elaborate testament in Lawson's name, in which the dying man was made to abjure all his Presbyterian principles, to grieve over them as deadly sins, to recommend the government of the church by bishops, and enjoin implicit obedience to the king's authority. It was indeed a bold exploit in literary forgery; but, at this period and afterwards, when the pen outran the activity of the press, and communities were so separated, it was easy to make a fraud of this kind, where the locality was transferred to London, to pass current in the streets of Edinburgh. There is no doubt that thus the archbishop had calculated; but, like many very cunning people, he, in this instance, betrayed himself by his over-scrupulous dexterity, and wove the web so finely, that in many places it was quite transparent. Thus, not content with making Lawson recant all the principles of his well-spent life with a hurry that was inconceivable, and laud Episcopal rule with an unction and earnestness which the Archbishop of Canterbury himself could not have surpassed, he also made him, in exhorting his old co-presbyters, to vent a malignity of sentiment, and drolling bitterness of satire, such as, whether living or dying, Lawson could not and would not have used. But it fortunately happened that proof still stronger than inferential evidence was at hand, to convict this impudent forgery; for Lawson himself had written his last testament, which was witnessed with the honoured names of Andrew Melville, James Carmichael, John Davidson, and Walter Balcanquhal.

After his return from England, Adamson did not lie idle; he zealously joined the king and Arran in their persecution of the best adherents of the kirk, under which, not only the principal ministers, but also the chief of the nobility, were fugitives in England. His pen also was soon in requisition for a more dignified work, at least, than that of blackening the memory of a departed brother; it was to advocate, defend, and justify certain obnoxious measures of James and his favourite, that had passed through the parliament in 1584, and were generally unpopular, both on account of their anti-presbyterian spirit in religion, and their despotic tendencies in civil rule. This task Adamson accomplished, and with such plausibility and ingenuity, that his apology was not only in high favour with the king, but widely popular in England, so that it was inserted in the appendix of Holinshed's History as a true picture of the religious state of Scotland. But this was not his only reward. Although he was still a suspended presbyter, with his trial by the General Assembly hanging

over him, and accounted a very Julian the Apostate by his former brethren, yet he was now to be confirmed in his primacy, with all the high rights and immunities that could be comprised within the office. This was announced by a royal letter, under the great seal, and, as such, was indignantly termed by the ministers the King's Bull, "giving and granting to his well-beloved clerk and orator, Patrick, archbishop of St Andrews, power, authority, and jurisdiction to exercise the same archbishopric by himself, his commissioners, and deputies, in all matters ecclesiastical, within the diocese of St Andrews, and sheriffdoms which have been heretofore annexed thereto." In this way he would be able to sit as presiding moderator in that Assembly where he should have stood as a culprit, and silence the charges which he could not have answered. But this, his culminating point, was also that of his downfall. The banished lords, who had withdrawn themselves to England, now took counsel upon the oppressed state of their country, and resolved to redress it after the old Scottish fashion. They therefore approached the border, where they could communicate with their allies, and appoint musters of their retainers; and at length, all being in readiness, Angus, Mar, Glamis, and the Hamiltons entered Scotland, and rapidly marched to Stirling, at the head of eight thousand armed men, to reason with their misguided sovereign. He soon found himself, like many of his ancestors, the pupil of Force and Necessity, and was compelled to yield to their stern remonstrances; while Arran was again, and for the last time, banished into that obscurity from which he should never have been summoned.

The return of the exiled lords, and the banishment of Arran from court, produced a breathing interval to the kirk; and the ministers who had been dispersed, warded, or silenced, were enabled to resume their charges unquestioned. It was now time, therefore, to redress the evils that had been inflicted upon the church, and these too by members of its own body, during the last two years of trial, if its polity and discipline were to be something more than an empty name. It was a stern duty, as Adamson was soon to feel. He had laboured for the eversion of the kirk, and the persecution of its ministers, under an unconstitutional authority against which he had protested and subscribed; and for all this he must answer before the court to which the assize of such delinquencies pertained. The synod of St Andrews, which had been closed during the persecution, was to be re-opened, and their first work was to be the trial of their own archbishop, whom their laws recognized as a simple presbyter, and nothing more. This solemn meeting was therefore convoked in April, 1586, to which a great concourse assembled; and thither also came the archbishop, "with a great pontificality and big countenance," for he boasted that he was in his own city, and possessed of the king's favour, and therefore needed to fear no one. He also placed himself close by the preacher, who was Mr James Melville, as if determined to outbrave the whole assembly. The discourse was a vindication of the polity of the church, and a rehearsal of the wrongs it had suffered; and then, "coming in particular," says Melville himself, "to our own kirk of Scotland, I turned to the bishop, sitting at my elbow, and directing my speech to him personally, I recounted to him, shortly, his life, actions, and proceedings against the kirk, taking the assembly there to witness, and his own conscience before God, if he was not an evident proof and example of that doctrine; whom, being a minister of the kirk, the Dragon had so stung with the poison and venom of avarice and ambition, that, swelling exorbitantly out of measure, threatened the wreck and destruction of the whole body, unless he were time-

only and with courage cut off." To this formidable appeal, the archbishop endeavoured to answer, but it was only with frivolous objections, and threats of the king's displeasure, while his courage was so utterly gone that he could scarcely sit, far less stand on his feet. But the business commenced, the process was entered into, and Adamson left the meeting. He was invited to return, but he sent for answer that the synod was no judge to him, but he to it. He not only persisted in refusing to appear, but sent such answers to the charges against him as only aggravated the offence. Nothing remained but to inflict upon him the final sentence of the church, which was done accordingly. After enumerating his offences, it thus concluded :—"Therefore, and for divers other notorious slanders whereof he was to be accused, and refused to underly any lawful trial, the assembly, in the fear of God, and in the name of Christ Jesus, moved by zeal to the glory of God, and purging of His kirk, ordains the said sentence of excommunication instantly to be put into execution in the face of the assembly; and, by the mouth of Mr Andrew Hunter, minister at Carnobie, at command and appointment of the assembly, declares him to be one of those whom Christ commandeth to be holden by all and every one of the faithful as an ethnic or publican."

The doom so long suspended had thus fallen at last; but still the primate would not yield. He rallied himself for a desperate counter-movement, and penned, by his own sole authority, a sentence of excommunication against the two Melvilles, and some of his principal accusers in the synod, which he sent by a boy, accompanied by two of his jackmen; but when this strange and most informal missive was read in the church, the audience were as little moved by it, as if he had excommunicated the stones of the building. He also sent a complaint against these proceedings to the king, with an appeal from the authority of the synod to his majesty, the estates, and the privy council. On the arrival of Sabbath, he prepared for a decisive effort, by preaching in the church in spite of the sentence. But just when he was about to ascend the pulpit, a mischievous rumour reached his ear, that several gentlemen and citizens had assembled in the New College, to take him out of the pulpit, and hang him; and terrified with the tidings, he not only called his friends and jackmen to the rescue, but fled from the church, and took refuge in the steeple. And yet, the whole cause of the stir was nothing more than the assembling of a few gentlemen and citizens in the New College, to attend the preaching of Andrew Melville, instead of that of an excommunicated man! The archbishop's friends followed him to the steeple, to assure him of his safety; but so desperate was his fear, that they could scarcely drag him out by force. While he was half-led, half-carried down the High Street, and through the north gate towards his castle, an unlucky stray hare, terrified at the coming din, suddenly started up, and fled before them. Even this incident could impart some gravity to the scene. It was a popular belief at that time in Scotland that a witch, when pursued, usually assumed the form of a hare, more effectually to ensure her escape; and the appearance of the poor animal at such a time and place, made the people declare that it was no other than the prelate's witch, abandoning her master, to make good her own safety.

We have already stated that Adamson appealed against the sentence of excommunication, to the authority of the king. In this singular appeal, he declaimed with great learning and marvellous plausibility about the right of royalty to interpose against ecclesiastical, as well as civil tyranny; and as he had

already made out, as he thought, his own case to be one of undue ecclesiastical oppression on the part of his enemies, the conclusion was plain, that the king could lawfully release him from the spiritual sentence. He wound up his reasoning with the following supposition, to which, he well knew, James would not be insensible: "Beseeching your majesty to consider and weigh with your Highness' self, nobility, and council, how dangerous a thing it is to put such a sword in such men's hands, or to suffer them to usurp further than their duty; whereby it may come to pass, that as rashly and unorderly they have pretendedly excommunicated the first man of your majesty's parliament (albeit unworthy), so there rests nothing of their next attempt to do the same to your majesty's self." The king's pride was roused at such a thought, as well as his kingcraft for the restoration of Episcopacy, now at a stand through the jeopardy of his archbishop; and therefore he arrogantly required the ministers to rescind their sentence, threatening them with the deprivation of their rights and stipends in the event of a refusal. The General Assembly met in May the same year, when these conditions were proposed, and the members were in sore strait how to act in such a dilemma; for most of the restored lords, after being replaced in their possessions, had left the church to shift for itself. At length, a medium course was adopted by the Assembly, and that, too, only by a small majority. It was, that the archbishop "should be holden and repute in the same case and condition that he was in before the holding of the Synod of St Andrews, without prejudice, decerning, or judging anything of the proceedings, process, or sentence of the said synod." It was a strange decision, by which Adamson was allowed to teach, preach, and exercise his clerical functions, excommunicated though he still was; while the pulpits, by royal decree, were not only to be patent to his entrance, but the students of St Andrews were commanded to attend his lectures in the Old College as heretofore. This violence, as might be expected, produced counter-violence, so that libels were thrown not only into the archbishop's chamber, but the pulpits in which he officiated, threatening him with death for his intrusion. And as if all this had not been enough, he added to his further disqualifications, by inability to pay his debts, in consequence of which he was, according to the practice of the Scottish law, denounced a rebel, and put to the horn. This case was brought before the Assembly of June, 1687, because many people had demurred to attend his ministrations, while he laboured under such degrading disabilities. The Assembly, however, decided that these were of a civil, rather than an ecclesiastical character, and referred them to the king for adjustment.

In the very same year and month, while Adamson was in this miserable plight—an excommunicated minister and an outlawed prelate—the first man in the parliament, and yet a denounced rebel because he could not pay his debts—a gleam of royal sunshine fell upon him, which was destined to be the last. The celebrated Du Bartes visited Scotland; and James, delighted with the arrival of so distinguished a scholar and poet, received him with princely distinction, and entertained him as his guest. While they were in Fife, the king was desirous that Du Bartes should see the two most accomplished scholars in Scotland—and these were incontestably to be found at St Andrews, in Andrew Melville and Patrick Adamson. Thither accordingly the royal *cortège* repaired; and the first notice which Melville had of the visit was from the king himself, who bluntly told him that he had come with the illustrious foreigner, to have a lesson from him in his class-room. Startled by such a brief warning, Melville

would have excused himself, on the plea that he had already delivered his ordinary lecture in the forenoon. "That is all one," said the king; "I *must* have a lesson, and be you here within an hour for that effect." In less than an hour, the professor was in readiness; the distinguished visitors and the students were assembled; and Melville commenced such a lecture, as made the king wish himself once more among the deer in Falkland. It was an eloquent extemporaneous oration, in which he vindicated Christ's right of sovereignty over his own church, and refuted and exposed the acts of parliament that had been lately enacted subversive of the kirk's authority. James went home in no very pleasant mood, and remained in a fume the whole evening. On the next morning it was Adamson's turn, who was not likely to trespass in the same fashion. During the interval, he had prepared a "tightened-up abridgment" of his previous year's lectures, in which he attempted to vindicate the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and justify the steps that had been taken for that purpose. Andrew Melville, who attended as an auditor, took notes of the archbishop's arguments; and without further study, caused the college bell to be rung after a short interval, to announce a new lecture. The king, who had not yet digested the lesson of yesterday, sent a warning to Melville to be moderate, otherwise he would discharge him; to which the other replied, that his majesty's ear had already been abused by Adamson's errors and untruths, which he could not allow to pass unquestioned, unless his breath were stopped by death itself—but that still, he should be careful to behave himself most moderately and reverently to his majesty in all respects. The king was satisfied with this assurance, and repaired to the class-room, where Adamson was also in attendance; and he craved and obtained the royal permission to reply, should any thing be alleged against his doctrine. The two strong champions were now standing front to front in the lists—and never had king of Scotland so delighted in the hurtling together of man and horse, and the shivering of spears, as did James in the prospect of an intellectual tournament, where dexterous syllogisms and home-thrust arguments were the only blows in circulation. But here, Melville changed his tactics, in a way that would have puzzled the most experienced master of fence. He had no longer a controversy with Episcopacy, but with Popery, the great common enemy of Protestantism at large; and thus secure of the sympathy of his audience, he extracted from the works of the Popish authors the strongest arguments they had adduced in defence of their system, for the purpose of refuting them. But these arguments were the very same which Adamson had used in the forenoon, in favour of the spiritual government of kings and bishops! There, however, they stood among the ranks of the uncircumcised; and as such, they were attacked with an amount of scripture and learning, and a force and fervour of eloquence, as completely swept them off the field. It was now the archbishop's turn to bestir himself, but he was dumb—dumb as the bench he sat upon. At last, the king advanced to the rescue; and after making several logical *distingues*, upon which he harangued for some time, he ended by commanding the students to reverence and obey his archbishop. When James departed, Du Bartes stayed behind a whole hour, conversing with Andrew Melville, after which, he mounted his horse, and rejoined his majesty. The king wished to know the opinion of the foreigner upon the two men they had heard; to which Du Bartes replied, That they were both learned men, but that the prelate's lectures were conned and prepared, while Melville had a great and ready store of all kinds of learning

within him; and that his spirit and courage were far above the other. In this correct estimate James completely agreed.

From this period, the life of Adamson was but a brief and mournful record. After his late discomfiture, he became weary of teaching in the college, and seems to have remitted it in a great measure to his successful rival. The ministrations of the pulpit could not console him, as the audiences either avoided him as an excommunicated man, or tarried and listened as to the voice of an intruder. Fresh complaints were made against him in the church courts, of having collated unworthy persons to benefices within his diocese. And, to crown all, he finally lost the favour and protection of the king, whom he had served only too well, but who was now weary of an archbishop buried under debt and disgrace, and whose season of working seemed well nigh over. Broken in health as well as in spirit, it might have been thought that James would at least have suffered such a faithful servant to depart in peace; but as if his own ungrateful hand, and no other, ought to deal the final blow, he alienated from him whatever of the revenues of his diocese he was still permitted to enjoy, and bestowed them upon the young Duke of Lennox, the son of his early favourite. In 1591, Adamson was dying a heart-broken man, and unable to procure for himself and his family even the common necessities of life. But besides hollow friends, he had generous enemies, and these last came forward in the hour of his extremity. Such especially were the two Melvilles, whom he had persecuted in the season of his ascendancy, but who now supported him for several months, at their own expense. At last, he was reduced to such miserable shifts, that he entreated a charitable collection to be made for him among the brethren in the town of St Andrews; and as an inducement, he offered to repair to the pulpit, and there make open confession of his offences. This, indeed, his sickness prevented him from accomplishing; but he rendered an equivalent, in a distinct "Recantation," which he subscribed, and sent to the synod of St Andrews. Besides thus showing how little he had cared for Episcopacy, and how much he had used it for his own aggrandizement, he evinced the force of his early and long-concealed convictions in favour of Presbyterianism, by the remorse which he now felt at the thought of his excommunication, and his earnestness to be absolved from the sentence; and to this effect he sent a supplication to the presbytery of St Andrews. They deputed two of the brethren, one of whom was James Melville, to examine him, and, if they judged fit, to release him. As soon as the dying man saw Melville, he rose up in bed, plucked the night-cap from his head, and exclaimed, "Forgive, forgive me, for God's sake, good Mr James, for I have offended and done wrong to you many ways!" Melville spoke to him of his sin against Christ and his church, exhorted him to repentance, with the assurance of mercy from God if he repented, and forgave him with all his heart. His excommunication was then spoken of, and he was asked if he acknowledged its lawfulness. To this, his emphatic reply, which he repeated again and again, was, "Loose me, for Christ's sake!" His state and petition were fully reported to the presbytery, and he was forthwith absolved. Even yet, as appears from his "Recantation," he had hoped to struggle through this his last illness; and he professed in it his earnest desire and purpose to commence a better life, and repair the evils he had inflicted upon religion and the church. But his newborn sincerity was not to be thus tried, and he died in the lowest depths of his humiliation and repentance. His character is thus strongly and briefly summed up by James Melville, who knew him well, and witnessed his career from its

height to its mournful termination :—"This man had many great gifts, but especially excelled in the tongue and pen ; and yet, for abusing of the same against Christ, all use of both the one and the other was taken from him, when he was in greatest misery, and had most need of them. In the latter end of his life, his nearest friends were no comfort to him, and his supposed greatest enemies, to whom indeed he offered greatest occasion of enmity, were his only friends, and recompensed good for evil, especially my uncle Andrew, but found small tokens of any spiritual comfort in him, which chiefly he would have wished to have seen at his end. Thus God delivered his kirk of a most dangerous enemy, who, if he had been endowed with a common civil piece of honesty in his dealing and conversation, he had more means to have wrought mischief in a kirk or country, than any I have known or heard of in our island."

As will be surmised from the foregoing account, Patrick Adamson was both an able and a voluminous writer ; but most of his productions were merely written for the day, and have passed away with the occasions in which they originated. Some of them he never purposed to acknowledge, while others remained unpublished in manuscript. Most of these he confessed and regretted in his "Recantation," declaring, that if it should please God to restore his health, he would change his style, "as Cajetan did at the Council of Trent." His principal writings were collected and published, in one quarto volume, by Thomas Volæsenus (Wilson) in 1619 ; but notwithstanding their undoubted excellence, it may be questioned if they are now at all known beyond the library of the antiquary. It appears, that on becoming minister of Paisley, Adamson married the daughter of a lawyer, who survived him, and by whom he had a family ; but all record of them has passed away, so that he may be said to have been the last, as he was the first of his race. The precise date of his death has not been mentioned ; but it was in the latter part of the year 1591. Such was the career and end of the great antagonist and rival of Andrew Melville.

AIDAN, SAINT, Bishop of Lindisfarne in the seventh century, was originally a monk in the island of Iona, and afterwards became a missionary in England. To understand aright, the history and labours of this self-devoted Christian missionary, it is necessary to glance at the condition of England, and especially of Northumbria, at the commencement of his ministry. England had been but lately converted to Christianity, through the labours of Augustin and forty monks, who had been sent to Britain, for that purpose, by Pope Gregory the Great. The conversion of the seven kingdoms of the heptarchy, into which England was divided by the Saxon conquerors, had been effected with unexampled rapidity, but through the simplest agency. The monks, in the first instance, addressed themselves to the sovereign of the state ; and when he renounced his heathen errors, and submitted to baptism, his people implicitly followed the example. But such sudden and wholesale conversions were extremely precarious ; and it sometimes happened that, when the king apostatized or died, the people returned to their former worship of Thor and Odin as promptly as they had forsaken it. Such was especially the case in Northumbria, the largest kingdom of the heptarchy, and the scene of Aidan's labours. Edwin, the best and most illustrious sovereign of his day, after a life of strange peril and adventure, had won his hereditary Northumbrian crown, and been converted to Christianity by the Italian missionary Paulinus ; and, on becoming a Christian, the happiest change was soon perceptible among his hitherto untamable subjects. They received their sovereign's creed without murmur or

debate; "and in this time," says the old chronicler Fabyan, "was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin, that a woman might have gone from one town to another without grief or noyaunce; and, for the refreshing of way-goers, this Edwin ordained, at clear wells, cups, or dishes of brass or iron, to be fastened to posts standing by the said wells' sides; and no man was so hardy as to take away those cups, he kept so good justice." In short, he seems to have been the Alfred of an earlier and ruder period. But, in the height of his power and usefulness, the terrible Penda, king of Mercia, and great champion of the ancient paganism, came against him in arms, and Edwin was defeated and slain in a great battle, fought at Hatfield or Heathfield, near the river Trent. The consequence was, that the Northumbrians relapsed into their former barbarism so rapidly, that every trace of Christianity would soon have been effaced from among them, had it not been that Oswald, the nephew of Edwin, came forward to vindicate the liberties of his falling country. This brave young prince, who headed the Christian cause against the Pagan, advanced to give battle to Cadwallader, king of North Wales, in whom his people had found the most relentless of their enemies. The Christian army which Oswald headed was very small, while that of Cadwallader was numerous, and its king was an able leader and successful conqueror. Aware of the disparity, and conscious of their own weakness, Oswald and his soldiers knelt in prayer, and humbly committed themselves to the God of the Christians, after which they assailed the enemy with full confidence, near Hexham. The Welsh were completely routed, their king was slain, and the victorious prince was received as king by the two united states of Deira and Bernicia.

The piety of Oswald attributed this signal success to the aid of the true God, whom he had invoked; and the first movement of his reign was to arrest the growing heathenism of his people, and recal them to the Christian faith. For this purpose he applied, however, not to the Italian monks, as his uncle had done, but to the Culdees of Iona; among whom he had been sheltered in his early youth, during the disasters of his family, and by whom he had been carefully educated. The message was gladly received by the Culdee brethren, and Cormac, a learned monk of their order, was forthwith sent to Northumbria. But the savage manners of the people appalled him, their inability to comprehend his instructions disgusted him, so that, despairing of their conversion, he speedily returned home. While he was giving an account of his mission, and describing the Northumbrians as a race of impracticable savages, a voice of rebuke was suddenly heard in the assembly: "Brother, it seems to me that your want of success was owing to a want of condescension to your hearers. You should first have fed them with milk, according to the apostolic rule, until they were fitted to receive stronger food." All eyes were turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan. It was unanimously agreed by the assembly that he was the fittest person to attempt the conversion of the Northumbrians, and, on the charge being proposed to him, he cordially agreed. He arrived in England A.D. 634, and repaired to the court of king Oswald. And now a missionary work commenced in the Northumbrian kingdom such as missionary annals can seldom parallel, for both king and monk went hand in hand in the duty. Aidan, being a Celt, was either wholly ignorant of the Saxon language of his hearers or imperfectly acquainted with it; but, when he preached, Oswald was ready to interpret his addresses. The happiest results attended these joint labours. The ancient idolatry was utterly thrown aside, and Christianity established

over Deira and Bernicia. Still further to confirm this change, Aidan prevailed upon the king to transfer the episcopal see from York to Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, a bleak peninsula upon the coast of Northumberland, which probably the Culdees preferred from its resemblance to his own beloved Iona; and here, accordingly, a monastery was erected, which Aidan supplied with monks from his own country. It is to be observed, also, that the form of Christianity thus established in Northumbria was different from that which the Italian priests had established over the rest of England. It was according to the primitive institutes of Saint Columba, and therefore essentially presbyterian in its form and discipline. Aidan, although he succeeded to the metropolitan rule of the extensive archbishopric of York, was contented to continue a simple presbyter, and nothing more. He held no intercourse with the Roman pontiff, and acknowledged no superiority of episcopal authority. He repudiated those showy ceremonies and artificial forms which were so congenial to the Italian character, and which the foreign priests had been so careful to introduce into England. And, above all, instead of paying homage to tradition, as an authority independent of the Word, he would receive nothing as a religious rule save that which was contained in the sacred writings. Such was the religion of the Culdees; and in this form it was introduced into Northumbria by Aidan and Oswald, who were both of them Culdees. But even if these important peculiarities had been left undisturbed by the Western church, that aimed at universal conformity and universal rule, there were certain trivialities belonging to the Culdeism of Northumberland that, sooner or later, was sure to provoke the hostility of the rest of England. The priests of the order of Columba shaved their foreheads in the form of a half-moon, after the Eastern fashion, instead of having the Western tonsure, that was meant to represent a crown of thorns. Their season also of keeping Easter was according to the Asiatic calculation, and not that of the West. These were peculiarities which every eye could detect at once, and were therefore sufficient matters for controversy among a simple people, whose views could penetrate no further; and, accordingly, the Easter and tonsure controversy became, in a few years after, the great subject of religious debate in England, by which the Culdees were expelled from the country. These disturbances, however, did not occur until both king and monk had entered into their rest.

After the death of Oswald, who was slain in battle, the kingdom of Northumbria was once more parted into two sovereignties, those of Deira and Bernicia; in the former of which Oswin was appointed king, and, in the latter, Oswio. It was, however a peaceful conjunction; and Aidan still continued, as before, to preside over the church of Northumberland. The character of Oswin appears to have fully resembled that of his amiable predecessor, and the bishop of Lindisfarne seems to have loved him with a still higher affection than even that which he bore for Oswald. Amidst the obscurity of that remote period, and the shadowy character of its actors, Bede tells us a touching story, in which the simple manners of the times, as well as the intercourse between the king and the bishop, are brought out in strong relief. Oswin had once presented to Aidan a fine horse. It happened that one day, as the Culdee was riding forth, he met a poor man, who asked of him an alms, and Aidan, having no money, bestowed on him the horse and its rich trappings. The king, on hearing of this, was displeased, and could not refrain from expressing his resentment when Aidan next dined with him. "Why were you so lavish of my favour," he

said, "as to give away my pad to a beggar? If you must needs mount him on horseback, could you not have given him one of less value? Or, if he wanted any other relief, you might have supplied him otherwise, and not have parted so easily with my gift." "You have not carefully considered this matter," replied Aidan, "for otherwise you could not set a greater value on the son of a mare, than on a son of God." In this way the affair ended for the present. Not long after, when the king returned from hunting, he saw the bishop, and, remembering what had lately occurred, he laid aside his sword, threw himself at the good man's feet, and asked his forgiveness for the rude words he had uttered. Aidan, grieved to see the king in this posture, immediately raised him, and declared that the whole matter was forgot. After this interview, however, Aidan was observed to be very sad; and, on being asked the cause by some of his monks, he burst into tears, and replied, "How can I be otherwise than afflicted? I foresee that Oswin's life will be short, for never have I beheld a prince so humble. His temper is too heavenly to dwell long among us, and, truly, the nation does not deserve the blessing of such a ruler." This mournful prediction was soon after accomplished by the death of Oswin, who was assassinated in August, 651; and Aidan took the matter so deeply to heart, that he died a fortnight after.

Such is the little that we know of Saint Aidan, the apostle of Northumberland, and bishop of Lindisfarne. That he was great and good, and that he accomplished much, is evident from the old chronicles, and especially from the history of venerable Bede, from whom the foregoing account has been chiefly gathered. The Venerable has also added to his account three miracles performed by Aidan, one of which occurred after his death; but with these it is unnecessary to trouble the modern reader. It is more agreeable to turn to his character, as drawn by Bede himself, who lived during the close of the same century, and knew Aidan well, not only from the testimony of his apostolic labours, but the reports of the old men, who had heard his words, and witnessed his doings:—"These things I have written," he says, "touching the person and actions of the man aforesaid, praising in his actions what is praiseworthy, and committing it to posterity for the behoof of those who read; to wit, his concern for peace and charity, for abstinence and humility; his utter freedom from wrath and avarice, from pride and vain-glory; his readiness alike to obey and teach the Divine commands; his diligence in reading and watching; his true sacerdotal authority in checking the proud and powerful, and, at the same time, his tenderness in comforting the afflicted, and relieving or defending the poor. To say all in few words, as far as we have been informed by those who personally knew him, he took care to omit no part of his duty, but, to the utmost of his power, performed everything commanded in the writings of the evangelists, apostles, and prophets."

AIKMAN, WILLIAM, a painter, of considerable merit, of the last century, was born, in Aberdeenshire, October 24, 1682. His father was William Aikman of Cairney, a man of eminence at the Scottish bar, who educated his son to follow his own profession. But a predilection for the fine arts, and a love of poetry, which gained him the friendship of Ramsay and Thomson, induced the youth to give up studying for the law, and turn his attention to painting. Having prosecuted his studies in painting for a time at home under Sir John Medina, and also in England, he resolved to visit Italy, that he might complete his education as an artist, and form his taste, by an examination of the classic models of anti-

quity; and accordingly, in 1707, having sold his paternal estate near Arbroath, that he might leave home untrammelled, he went to Rome, where, during a period of three years, he put himself under the tuition of the best masters. He afterwards visited Constantinople and Smyrna, where the gentlemen of the English factory wished him to engage in the Turkey trade; an overture which he declined; and returning to Rome, he there renewed his studies for a time. In 1712, he revisited his native country, and commenced practising his profession; but, though his works were admired by the discerning few, he did not meet with adequate encouragement, the public being too poor at that time to purchase elaborate works of art, and the taste for such works being then too imperfectly formed. At this period he formed an intimacy with Allan Ramsay, whose portrait he afterwards painted. John, Duke of Argyle, who equally admired the artist and esteemed the man, regretting that such talents should be lost, at length prevailed upon Aikman, in 1723, to move with all his family to London. There, under the auspices of his distinguished friend, he associated with the most eminent British painters of the age, particularly Sir Godfrey Kneller, whose studies and dispositions of mind were congenial with his own. The duke also recommended him to many people of the first rank, particularly the Earl of Burlington, so well known for his taste in architecture; and he was thus able to be of much service to Thomson, who came to London soon after himself, as a literary adventurer. He introduced the poet of "The Seasons" to the brilliant literary circle of the day—Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, &c.—and, what was perhaps of more immediate service, to Sir Robert Walpole, who aimed at being thought a friend to men of genius. Among the more intimate friends of Aikman, was William Somerville, author of "The Chase," from whom he received an elegant tribute of the muse, on his painting a full-length portrait of the poet in the decline of life, carrying him back, by the assistance of another portrait, to his youthful days. This poem was never published in any edition of Somerville's works. Aikman painted, for the Earl of Burlington, a large picture of the royal family of England; all the younger branches being in the middle compartment, on a very large canvas, and on one hand a full-length portrait of Queen Caroline; the picture of the king (George II.)—that king who never could endure "boetry or bainting," as he styled the two arts in his broken English—intended for the opposite side, was never finished, owing to the death of the artist. This was perhaps the last picture brought towards a close by Aikman, and it is allowed to have been in his best style; it came into the possession of the Duke of Devonshire by a marriage alliance with the Burlington family. Some of his earlier works are in the possession of the Argyle and Hamilton families in Scotland; his more mature and mellow productions are chiefly to be found in England, and a large portion at Blickling, in Norfolk, the seat of the Earl of Buckinghamshire; these are chiefly portraits of noblemen, ladies, and gentlemen, friends of the earl. He died June 4, 1731, at his house, in Leicester Fields, and, by his own desire, his body was taken to Scotland for interment; his only son, John (by his wife Marion Lawson, daughter of Mr Lawson, of Cairnmuir, in Peeblesshire), whose death immediately preceded his own, was buried in the same grave with him, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, Edinburgh. A monument was erected over the remains of Mr Aikman, with the following epitaph by Mallet, which has been long since obliterated :—

Dear to the good and wise, dispraised by none,
Liere sleep in peace the father and the son.

By virtue as by nature close allied.
 The painter's genius, but without the pride.
 Worth unambitious, wit afraid to shine,
 Honour's clear light, and friendship's warmth divine.
 The son, fair-rising, knew too short a date;
 But O how more severe the parent's fate!
 He saw him, torn untimely from his side,
 Felt all a father's anguish—wept, and died.

The following verses, in which Thomson bewails him with all the warmth of grateful friendship, are only partially printed in that poet's works:—

O could I draw, my friend, thy genuine mind,
 Just as the living forms by thee designed!
 Of Raphael's figures none should fairer shine,
 Nor Titian's colours longer last than thine.
 A mind in wisdom old, in lenience young,
 From fervid truth, whence every virtue sprung;
 Where all was real, modest, plain, sincere;
 Worth above show, and goodness unsevere.
 Viewed round and round, as lucid diamonds show,
 Still, as you turn them, a revolving glow:
 So did his mind reflect with secret ray,
 In various virtues, Heaven's eternal day.
 Whether in high discourse it soared sublime
 And sprung impatient o'er the bounds of time,
 Or wandering nature o'er with raptured eye,
 Adored the hand that turned yon azure sky:
 Whether to social joy he bent his thought,
 And the right poise that mingling passions sought,
 Gay converse blest, or, in the thoughtful grove,
 Bid the heart open every source of love:
 In varying lights, still set before our eyes
 The just, the good, the social, and the wise.
 For such a death who can, who would refuse,
 The friend a tear, a verse the mournful muse?
 Yet pay we must acknowledgment to Heaven,
 Though snatch'd so soon, that AIKMAN o'er was given.
 Grateful from nature's banquet let us rise,
 Nor leave the banquet with reluctant eyes:
 A friend, when dead, is but removed from sight,
 Sunk in the lustre of eternal light;
 And, when the parting storms of life are o'er,
 May yet rejoin us on a happier shore.
 As those we love decay, we die in part;
 String after string is severed from the heart;
 Till loosened life at last—but breathing clay—
 Without one pang is glad to fall away.
 Unhappy he who latest feels the blow,
 Whose eyes have wept o'er every friend laid low;
 Dragged lingering on from partial death to death,
 And, dying, all he can resign is breath.

In his style of painting, Aikman seems to have aimed at imitating nature in her most simple forms; his lights are soft, his shades mellow, and his colouring mild and harmonious. His touch has neither the force nor the harshness of Rubens; nor does he, like Reynolds, adorn his portraits with the elegance of adventitious graces. His compositions are distinguished by a placid tranquillity,

rather than a striking brilliancy of effect; and his portraits may be more readily mistaken for those of Kneller than for the works of any other eminent artist.

AITON, WILLIAM, an eminent horticulturist and botanist, was born, in 1731, at a village in the neighbourhood of Hamilton. Having been regularly bred to the profession of a gardener, as it was and still is practised by numbers of his countrymen, with a union of manual skill and scientific knowledge, he removed to England in 1754, and, in the year following, obtained the notice of the celebrated Philip Miller, then superintendent of the physic garden at Chelsea, who employed him for some time as an assistant. The instructions which he received from that eminent gardener laid the foundation, it is said, of his future fortune. His industry and abilities were so conspicuous, that, in 1759, he was pointed out to the Princess-Dowager of Wales as a fit person to manage the botanical garden at Kew. His professional talents also procured him the notice of Sir Joseph Banks, and a friendship commenced which subsisted between them for life. Dr Solander and Dr Dryander were also among the number of his friends. The encouragement of botanical studies was a distinguished feature of the reign of George III., who, soon after his accession, determined to render Kew a repository of all the vegetable riches of the world. Specimens were accordingly procured from every quarter of the globe, and placed under the care of Mr Aiton, who showed a surprising degree of skill in their arrangement. Under his superintendence, a variety of improvements took place in the plan and edifices of Kew gardens, till they attained an undoubted eminence over every other botanical institution. In 1783, on a vacancy occurring in the superintendence of the pleasure-gardens at Kew, Mr Aiton received the appointment from George III., but was, at the same time, permitted to retain his more important office. His labours proved that the king's favours were not ill bestowed; for, in 1789, he published an elaborate description of the plants at Kew, under the title, "*Hortus Kewensis*," 3 vols. 8vo, with a number of plates. In this production, Mr Aiton gave an account of no fewer than 5600 foreign plants, which had been introduced from time to time into the English gardens; and so highly was the work esteemed, that the whole impression was sold within two years. A second and improved edition was published by his son, William Townsend Aiton, in 1810. After a life of singular activity and usefulness, distinguished, moreover, by all the domestic virtues, Mr Aiton died on the 1st of February, 1793, of a schirrus in the liver, in the 63d year of his age. He lies buried in the churchyard at Kew, near the graves of his distinguished friends, Zoffany, Meyer, and Gainsborough. He was succeeded by his son, Mr William Townsend Aiton, who was no less esteemed by George III. than his father had been, and who, for fifty years, ably superintended the botanical department at Kew, besides taking charge of the extensive pleasure-grounds, and being employed in the improvement of the other royal gardens. In 1841, he retired from office, when Sir William Jackson Hooker was appointed director of the botanic gardens. Mr Aiton died at Kew, in 1849, aged 84.

ALES or ALESSE, ALEXANDER, a celebrated theologian of the sixteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 23d, 1500. He is first found in the situation of a canon in the cathedral of St Andrews, where he distinguished himself by entering into the fashionable controversy of the day against Luther. His zeal for the Roman Catholic religion was staggered by the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton; but it is not probable that his doubts would have been carried further, if he had not suffered persecution for the slight degree of scepticism

already manifested. Being obliged to fly from St Andrews, he retired to Germany, where he became a thorough convert to the Protestant doctrines. The Reformation in England induced Ales to go to London, in 1535, where he was highly esteemed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Cromwell, who were at that time in favour with the king. Henry regarded him also with favour, and used to call him "his scholar." Upon the fall of Cromwell, he was obliged to return to Germany, where the Elector of Brandenburg appointed him professor of divinity at Frankfort-upon-the-Oder, in 1540. As a reformer, Ales did not always maintain the most orthodox doctrines; hence he was obliged, in 1542 to fly from his chair at Frankfort, and betake himself to Leipsic. He spent the remainder of his life in that city, as professor of divinity, and died in 1565. His works are:—1, "De necessitate et merito Bonorum Operum, disputatio proposita in celebri academia Leipsica, ad 29 Nov. 1560." 2, "Commentarii in evangelium Joannis, et in utramque epistolam ad Timotheum." 3, "Expositio in Psalmos Davidis." 4, "De Justificatione, contra Oscandrum." 5, "De Sancta Trinitate, cum confutatione erroris Valentini." 6, "Responsio ad triginta et duos articulos theologorum Lovaniensium." The fifth in this list is the most favourable specimen of his abilities.

ALEXANDER, WILLIAM, an eminent nobleman, statesman, and poet of the reign of James VI. and Charles I. The original rank of this personage was that of a small landed proprietor or laird; but he was elevated, by dint of his various accomplishments, and through the favour of the two sovereigns above-mentioned, to the rank of an earl. His family, which possessed the small estate of Menstrie, near Stirling, is said to have derived the name Alexander from the prenomens of their ancestor, Alexander Macdonald, a highlander, who had been settled in this property by the Earl of Argyle, whose residence of Castle Campbell is in the neighbourhood. William Alexander is supposed to have first seen the light in 1580. Nature having obviously marked him for a higher destiny than that to which he was born, he received from his friends the best education which the time and place could afford, and, at a very early age, he accompanied the young Earl of Argyle upon his foreign travels, in the capacity of tutor. Previous to this period, when only fifteen years of age, he had been smitten with the charms of some country beauty, "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes;" on his return from the continent, his passion was found to have suffered no abatement. He spent some time in rural retirement, and wrote no fewer than a hundred sonnets, as a ventilation to the fervours of his breast; but all his poetry was in vain, so far as the lady was concerned. She thought of matrimony, while he thought of love; and accordingly, on being solicited by a more aged suitor, in other respects eligible, did not scruple to accept his hand. The poet took a more sensible way of consoling himself for this disappointment than might have been expected; he married another lady, the daughter and heiress of Sir William Erskine. His century of sonnets was published in London in 1604, under the title of "Aurora, containing the First Fancies of the Author's Youth, by W. Alexander, of Menstrie." From the situation of Alexander's estate, near the residence of the king at Stirling, and in a vale which his majesty frequented for the pleasure of hawking, he had early been introduced to royal notice; and, accordingly, it appears that, when James removed to London, in 1603, the poet did not remain long behind, but soon became a dependent upon the English court. It is honourable to Alexander that in this situation he did not, like most court poets of that age, employ his pen in the adulation of majesty; his works breathe a very different

strain. Having studied deeply the ancient philosophers and poets, he descanted on the vanity of grandeur, the value of truth, the abuse of power, and the burthen of riches. His moralizings assumed the strange shape of tragedies—compositions not at all designed for the stage, but intended simply to embody the sentiments which arose in his mind upon such subjects as those we have mentioned. His first tragedy was grounded upon the story of Darius, and appeared at Edinburgh in 1603. He afterwards republished it at London, in 1607, along with similar compositions upon the stories of Alexander, Cæsar, and Cæsar, under the title of “*Monarchick Tragedies*, by William Alexander, gentleman of the Princes’ Privy Chamber.” It would thus appear that he had now obtained a place in the household of Prince Henry; to whom he had previously addressed a poem or parænesis, designed to show how the happiness of a sovereign depends upon his choosing such councillors as can throw off private grudges, regard public concerns, and will not, to betray their seats, become pensioners. This poem, of which no copy of the original edition is known to exist, except one in the University library at Edinburgh, was, after the death of Henry, addressed to Prince Charles, who then became heir-apparent; an economy in poetical, not to speak of court business, which cannot be sufficiently admired. He was, in 1613, appointed one of the gentlemen ushers of the presence to this unfortunate prince.

King James is said to have been a warm admirer of the poems of Alexander, to have honoured him with his conversation, and called him “my philosophical poet.” He was now aspiring to the still more honourable character of a divine poet, for in 1614, appeared at Edinburgh, his largest and perhaps his most meritorious production, entitled, “*Doomsday, or the Great Day of Judgment*,” which has been several times reprinted.

Hitherto the career of Alexander had been chiefly that of a poet: it was henceforth entirely that of a courtier. Advanced to the age of thirty-five, the pure and amiable temperament of the poet gave way before the calculating and mercenary views of the politician; and the future years of his life are therefore less agreeable in recital than those which are past. In 1614, he was knighted by king James, and appointed to the situation of master of requests. In 1621, the king gave him a grant by his royal deed of the province of Nova Scotia, which as yet had not been colonized. Alexander designed at first to establish settlers upon this new country, and, as an inducement to the purchase of land, it was proposed that the king should confer, upon all who paid a hundred and fifty pounds for six thousand acres, the honour of a knight baronetcy. Owing to the perplexed politics of the last years of king James, he did not get this scheme carried into effect, but Charles had no sooner acceded than he resolved upon giving it his support. Alexander, in 1625, published a pamphlet, entitled, “*An Encouragement to Colonies*,” the object of which was to state the progress already made, to recommend the scheme to the nation, and to invite adventurers. It is also supposed that he had a hand in “*A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England, and of sundry accidents therein occurring from the year 1607 to this present 1622: together with the state thereof as it now standeth, the general form of government intended, and the division of the whole territory into counties, baronies, &c.*” King Charles, who probably considered the scheme in a two-fold light, as a means of establishing a new colony, and of remunerating an old servant at the expense of others, conferred upon Sir William Alexander the rank of Lieutenant of New Scotland, and founded the necessary order of knights baronets of the same territory. The number of these baronets was not to exceed a hundred and fifty, and it was ordained that the title should be hereditary—that they should take precedence of all ordinary knights and lairds, and of all other gentlemen, except Sir William Alexander, and that they

should have place in all his majesty's and his successors' armies, near and about the royal standard for the defence thereof, with other honourable distinctions of precedence, to them, their wives, and heirs. The ceremony of infektment or sea-sine was decreed to take place on the Castle-hill of Edinburgh, the earth and stone of which were held, by a fiction, to represent the component particles of certain baronies and lordships on the other side of the Atlantic. For the amusement of the reader, we shall give an account of the equivocal mode of procedure adopted in this scheme, and of its shameful conclusion, from the fantastic pen of Sir Thomas Urquhart. "It did not satisfy him," says Sir Thomas, in reference to Alexander, (*Discovery of a most Exquisite Jewel, &c.*, 8vo, 1652,) "to have a laurel from the Muses, and be esteemed a king among poets, but he must also be king of some new-found land; and, like another Alexander, indeed, searching after new worlds, have the sovereignty of Nova Scotia! He was born a poet, and aimed to be a king; therefore he would have his royal title from king James, who was born a king, and aimed to be a poet. Had he stopped there, it had been well; but the flame of his honour must have some oil wherewith to nourish it; like another Arthur he must have his knights, though nothing limited to so small a number; for how many soever, who could have looked but for one day like gentlemen, and given him but one hundred and fifty pounds sterling (without any need of a key for opening the gate to enter through the temple of virtue, which, in former times, was the only way to honour,) they had a scale from him whereby to ascend unto the platforms of virtue; which they treading under their feet, did slight the ordinary passages, and to take the more sudden possession of the temple of honour, went upon obscure by-paths of their own, towards some secret angiports and dark postern doors, which were so narrow that few of them could get in, until they had left all their gallantry behind them: Yet such being their resolution, that in they would and be worshipful upon any terms; they misregarded all formerly used steps of promotion, accounting them but unnecessary; and most rudely pushing into the very sanctuary, they immediately hung out the orange colours," the colour of the ribbon by which the order was suspended, "to testify their conquest of the honour of knight baronet. Their king nevertheless, not to stain his royal dignity, or to seem to merit the imputation of selling honour to his subjects, did, for their money, give them land, and that in so ample a measure, that every one of his knight baronets had, for his hundred and fifty pounds sterling, heritably disposed to him six thousand good and sufficient acres of Nova Scotia ground; which being at the rate of but sixpence an acre, and not to be thought very dear; considering how prettily, in the respective parchments of disposition, they were bounded and designed; fruitful corn-fields, watered with pleasant rivers, running along most excellent and spacious meadows; nor did there want abundance of oaken groves, in the midst of very fertile plains, or if it wanted anything it was the scrivener's or writer's fault, for he" [Alexander] "gave orders, as soon as he received the three thousand Scots marks, that there should be no defect of quantity, or quality, in measure or goodness of land, and here and there most delicious gardens and orchards; with whatever else could, in matter of delightful ground, best content their fancies; as if they had made purchase among them of the Elysian fields or Mahomet's paradise; and although there should have happened a thousand acres more to be put into the charter, or writing of disposition, than was agreed upon at first, he cared not; nalf a piece to the clerk was able to make him dispense with that. But at last when he had eurolled three hundred knights, who for their hundred and fifty pieces each had purchased among them several millions of New Caledonian acres, confirmed to them and theirs for ever, under the great seal, the affixing whereof was to cost each of them but thirty pieces more; finding that the society was not

likely to become any more numerous, and that the ancient gentry of Scotland esteemed such a whimsical dignity to be a disparagement, rather than any addition to their former honour; he bethought himself of a course more profitable to himself and the future establishment of his own state; in prosecuting whereof without the advice of his knights, who represented both houses of parliament, clergy and all, like an absolute king indeed, he disposed heritably to the French for a matter of five or six thousand pounds English money, both the dominion and property of the whole country of that kingdom of Nova Scotia; leaving the new baronets to search for land amongst the Seleites in the moon, or turn knights of the sun; so dearly have they bought their orange ribband, which, all things considered, is, and will be, more honourable to them, or their posterity, than it is or hath been profitable to either." It thus appears that Alexander's Nova Scotian scheme, whatever might have been originally contemplated, degenerated at last into a mere means of raising money by the sale of titles; a system too much practised in the English reign of James VI., and which gained, as it deserved, the contempt of all honourable minds. The territory of Nova Scotia afterwards fell into the hands of the French, who affected to believe that they had acquired a right to it by a treaty entered into with the king of Great Britain, in 1632, in which the country of Acadia was ceded to them. In the treaty of peace transacted between the two countries, in 1763, it was successfully asserted by the British government that Nova Scotia was totally distinct from Acadia, and accordingly the territory reverted to Britain, along with Canada. The country, however, having become the property of other individuals during the usurpation of the French, it appears that the Nova Scotia baronets have very slight prospects of ever regaining the lands to which their titles were originally attached.

In 1626, Sir William Alexander, was, by the favour of Charles I., made secretary of state for Scotland; an office to which the salary of £100 a-year, being that of a good mercantile clerk in the present day, was then attached. In 1630, by the further favour of his sovereign, he was raised to the peerage under the title of viscount Stirling; and in 1633, at the coronation of king Charles in Holyrood chapel, he was promoted to the rank of an earl under the same title. He held the office of secretary during fifteen years, and gained the credit of being a moderate statesman in the midst of many violent political scenes. It does not appear, however, that he was a popular character. Such esteem as he might have gained by his poetry, seems to have been lost in consequence of the arts by which his sovereign endeavoured to give him riches. A permission which he acquired, probably in his character of lieutenant of Nova Scotia, to coin base money, became a grievance to the community, and procured him much obloquy. He had erected a splendid mansion at Stirling out of his ill-acquired gains, and affixed upon its front his armorial bearings, with the motto "*Per Mare, per Terras*." This was parodied, as we are informed by the sarcastic Scott of Scotstarvet, into "*Per metre, per turners*," in allusion to the sources of his wealth, the people believing that the royal favour had a reference to his lordship's poetry, while *turners*, or *black furthings*, as they were otherwise called, had been one of the shapes in which this favour was expressed. The house still remains, a monument of the taste of the poet.

The earl of Stirling, in 1637, published a complete edition of his poetical works, under the general title of "*Recreations with the Muses*." The work contained his four "*Monarchick Tragedies*," his "*Doomsday*," the "*Parænesis to Prince Henry*," and "*Jonathan, an Heroick Poem Intended, the first book*," the whole revised and very much improved by the author. He died in 1640, leaving three sons and two daughters, whose posterity was supposed to have been com-

pletely extinct, till a claimant appeared in 1830, as descended from one of the younger branches of the family, and who has assumed the titles of Stirling and Devon. Considered as a poet, Alexander is intitled to considerable praise. "His style is certainly neither pure nor correct, which may perhaps be attributed to his long familiarity with the Scottish language; but his versification is in general much superior to that of his contemporaries, and approaches nearer to the elegance of modern times than could have been expected from one who wrote so much. There are innumerable beauties scattered over the whole of his works, but particularly in his songs and sonnets; the former are a species of irregular odes, in which the sentiment, occasionally partaking of the quaintness of his age, is more frequently new and forcibly expressed. The powers of mind displayed in his *Doomsday* and *Parænesis* are very considerable, although we are frequently able to trace the allusions and imagery to the language of holy writ; and he appears to have been less inspired by the sublimity than by the awful importance of his subject to rational beings. A habit of moralizing pervades all his writings; but in the '*Doomsday*' he appears deeply impressed with his subject, and more anxious to persuade the heart than to delight the imagination."—*Johnson and Chalmers' English Poets*, edit. 1810, vol. v.

The Earl of Stirling was employed in his latter years in the task of revising the version of the Psalms prepared by king James, which duty was imposed upon him by the royal paraphrast himself. In a letter to his friend, Drummond of Hawthornden, 28th of April, 1620, Alexander says, "Brother, I received your last letter, with the psalm you sent, which I think very well done: I had done the same long before it came; but he [king James] prefers his own to all else; though, perchance when you see it, you will think it *the worst of the three*. No man must meddle with that subject, and therefore I advise you to take no more pains therein." In consideration of the pains which the Earl had bestowed upon this subject, Charles I., on the 28th of December, 1627, granted a license to his lordship, to print the late king's version of the Psalms exclusively for thirty-one years. The first edition appeared at Oxford, in 1631. The king endeavoured to enforce the use of his father's version alone throughout his dominions; and, if he had been successful, the privilege would have been a source of immense profit to the Earl of Stirling. But the royal wishes were resisted by the Scottish church, and were not very respectfully obeyed any where else; and the breaking out of the civil war soon after rendered the privilege entirely useless.¹

ALEXANDER I., surnamed *Acer*, or the *Fierce*, king of Scots from 1106 to 1124, was the fifth son of Malcolm III. by his wife Margaret of England. Lord Hailes conjectures that his name was bestowed in honour of Pope Alexander II.; a circumstance worthy of attention, as it was the means of introducing the most common and familiar christian name in Scotland. The date of Alexander's birth is not known; but as his four elder brothers were all under age in 1093, at the death of their father, he must have been in the bloom of life at his accession to the throne. He succeeded his brother Edgar, January 8, 1106-7, and immediately after married Sybilla, the natural daughter of Henry I. of England, who had married his sister Matilda, or Maud. Such an alliance was not then considered dishonourable. Alexander was active in enforcing obedience to his dominion, and in suppressing the bands of rebels or robbers with which the northern parts of the kingdom were infested; but the chief events of his reign relate to the efforts made by the English church to assert a supremacy over that of Scotland. These efforts were resisted by the king of Scots, with

¹ The corpse of the Earl of Stirling was deposited in a leaden coffin in the family-aisle in the church of Stirling, above ground, and remained entire for upwards of a hundred years.—*Paragraph from an old newspaper.*

steady perseverance, and ultimate success, notwithstanding that the Pope countenanced the claims of the English prelates. It is to be presumed that this spirit would have incited the Scottish monarch to maintain the independency of his kingdom, had it ever been called in question during his reign. Alexander died April 27, 1184, after a reign of seventeen years and three months. As he left no issue, he was succeeded by his next and last-surviving brother David, so memorable for his bounty to the church. Alexander was also a pious monarch. Alfred, in his genealogy of the English kings, says of him, that "he was humble and courteous to the clergy, but, to the rest of his subjects, terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; not ignorant of letters; zealous in establishing churches, collecting relics, and providing vestments and books for the clergy; liberal even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor." His donations to the church were very considerable. He made a large grant of lands to the church of St Andrews, increased the revenue of the monastery of Dunfermline, which his parents had founded, established a colony of canons regular at home, and built a monastery on Inch-coll in the Firth of Forth, in gratitude for having been preserved from a tempest on that island.

ALEXANDER II., the only legitimate son of king William, surnamed the *Lion*, was born in 1158. He succeeded his father, December 4, 1214, in his seventeenth year, and was crowned next day at Scone. Alexander II. is characterised by Fordun as a pious, just, and brave king—as the shield of the church, the safe-guard of the people, and the friend of the miserable. He espoused the cause of the English barons against king John, which led to mutual depredations between the two sovereigns; but on the accession of Henry III. to the crown of England, peace was restored; and in 1221, the friendly intercourse of the two nations was established by the marriage of the king of Scotland to Joan, eldest sister of the king of England. This princess died in 1238, without issue; and in the following year Alexander married Mary de Couci, the scion of a French house, which, in its motto, disclaimed royalty, and rested for distinction on its own merits:

Je suis ni roi, ni prince aussi—
Je suis le seigneur de Couci.

During the life of Joan, the British monarchs came to no open rupture, their friendly intimacy being only occasionally interrupted by Henry discovering a disposition to revive the claim of homage from the king of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I., and by Alexander insisting on his claim to the three northern counties of England; but shortly after the death of Joan, national jealousies broke out, and in 1244, both princes raised armies and prepared for war. By the mediation, however, of several English barons, hostilities were prevented, and a peace concluded. Much of Alexander's reign was occupied in suppressing insurrections of the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland. He died A.D. 1249, in one of the islands of the Hebrides, while engaged in subjecting Angus, the Lord of Argyle, who refused his homage to the Scottish sovereign. He left by his second wife one son, who is the subject of the following article.

ALEXANDER III., born at Roxburgh, September 4, 1241, succeeded his father in the eighth year of his age. He was knighted and crowned only five days after his father's death—a precipitation adopted to prevent the interference of the king of England. When only a year old, Alexander had been betrothed to Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry III., a princess of his own age; and in 1251, their nuptials were celebrated at York with great pomp. On the ground

of this union, Henry interested himself in the affairs of Scotland, and the young prince was a frequent visitor at the court of his father-in-law. The English monarch, taking advantage of Alexander's youth and other circumstances, endeavoured to prevail upon him to do homage for his crown and kingdom of Scotland; but the young king, with a fortitude and prudence beyond his years, and which gave promise of his future decision, resisted the requisition, saying that he could not treat of affairs of state without the advice of his parliament. During Alexander's minority, the country was divided into factions, and various struggles for ascendancy took place; but the administration was latterly committed to fifteen of the leading chiefs or barons. Alexander had reached the twenty-second year of his age, when his kingdom was invaded by one of the most formidable armaments that had ever sailed from Norway. Haco, king of that country, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty ships, freighted with many thousand northern warriors, who carried terror to almost all the shores of Europe, sailed towards Scotland in the summer of 1263, and after making himself master of the islands of Arran and Bute, arrived in the bay of Larga, near the mouth of the Clyde, and endeavoured to effect a landing. Here a Scottish army, under Alexander, assembled to resist the invasion; and here, on the 2d of October, after a fierce and bloody contest, the Norwegians were repulsed with great loss. A storm arising, completed the dissipation or destruction of their fleet. Haco escaped with difficulty through the strait between Sky and the mainland, since called Kyle Hacken, and reaching the Orkneys, died there, as is said, of a broken heart. By this defeat, all the islands of the western sea, including that of Man, but excepting those of Orkney and Shetland, submitted to Alexander.

From this period to the death of Alexander, Scotland enjoyed tranquillity, only disturbed by the pretensions of the pope and the encroachments of the clergy, both of which Alexander was successful in resisting. Religious crusades were at this time the rage over Europe, and Scotland did not escape the infection, as many of her bravest barons perished in Palestine. In 1274, Alexander attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I., at Westminster, and after the custom of the times did homage for the lands which he held of him in England. Six months after this, Margaret queen of Scotland died, leaving one daughter and two sons—Margaret, Alexander, and David. David died unmarried in 1281. Margaret was married in 1282, to Eric king of Norway, and died in the following year, after giving birth to an infant daughter, who received her own name. Alexander was married in 1283 to the daughter of Guy earl of Flanders, and died in the following year without issue. Thus, in the course of a few years, was the unhappy king of Scotland deprived of his wife and all his children—the only remaining descendant of his body being the Maiden of Norway, as she is called in Scottish history, an infant grandchild residing in a foreign land. In 1285, Alexander, to provide against the evils of a disputed succession, at the request of his nobility, married Joletta, daughter of the Count de Dreux; but shortly after his marriage, in riding along a precipitous road between Bruntisland and Kinghorn, his horse fell over a rock, and the unfortunate monarch was killed. This event took place on the 16th of March, 1286, in the 45th year of his age and 37th of his reign.

With Alexander III. terminated a race of kings, who, from the accession of Malcolm Cean-Mohr, had distinguished themselves by their activity in the administration of justice, and their courage in maintaining the rights and independence of their country against a powerful and too often an insidious foe. Few annals of a rude people, indeed, can present a more remarkable series of patriotic monarchs than those with whom Scotland was blessed from the middle of the eleventh to the close of the thirteenth century, whether we consider their wisdom

and impartiality as legislators, their prudence as politicians, or their bravery as warriors, for Malcolm the Maiden and the terms upon which William the Lion effected his release from captivity must only be considered as exceptions to the general excellence of their conduct. But with the death of Alexander III., the peace and prosperity of the country was broken up; and much as he was lamented by the people, and gloomy as were their forebodings on his decease, no anticipation could exceed the real calamities in which the country was involved by his unhappy and untimely end.

ALLAN, DAVID, a painter of great merit, was born at Alloa, February 13th, 1744. He was the son of Mr David Allan, shore-master at that small port. The mother of Allan, whose maiden name was Gullan, brought him prematurely into the world, and died a few days after his birth. The young painter had so small a mouth that no nurse could be found in the place fitted to give him suck: at length, one being heard of, who lived at the distance of some miles, he was packed up in a basket amidst cotton, and sent off under the charge of a man who carried him on horseback, the journey being rendered additionally dangerous by a deep snow. The horse happened to stumble, the man fell off, and the tiny wretch was ejected from the basket into the snow, receiving as he fell a severe cut upon his head. Such were the circumstances under which Mr David Allan commenced the business of existence.

Even after having experienced the tender cares of his nurse, misfortune continued to harass him. In the autumn of 1745, when he must have been about eighteen months old, a battery was erected at Alloa, to defend the passage of the Forth against the attempts of Prince Charles's army. While the men were firing the cannon for experiment, the maid entrusted with the charge of young Allan ran across the open space in front, at the moment when they were discharged, and he only escaped death by a hair-breadth.

His genius for designing was first developed by accident. Being confined at home with a burnt foot, his father one day said to him, "You idle little rogue, you are kept from school doing nothing! come, here is a bit of chalk, draw something with it upon the floor." He took the chalk, and began to delineate figures of houses, animals, and other familiar objects; in all of which he succeeded so well that the chalk was seldom afterwards out of his hand. When he was about ten years of age, his pedagogue happened to exercise his authority over some of the boys in a rather ludicrous manner: Allan immediately drew a caricature of the transaction upon a slate, and handed it about for the amusement of his companions. The master of the *ferule*, an old vain conceited person, who used to strut about the school dressed in a tartan night-cap and long tartan gown, got hold of the picture, and right soon detected that he himself was the most conspicuous and the most ridiculous figure. The satire was so keen, and the laugh which it excited sunk so deep, that the object of it was not satisfied till he had made a complaint to old Allan, and had the boy taken from his school. When questioned by his father how he had the effrontery to insult his master, by representing him so ridiculously on his slate, his answer was, "I only made it *like* him, and it was all for fun!"

The father observed the decided genius of his son, and had the good sense to offer it no resistance. At this time, the establishment of the Messrs Foulis' academy of Arts at Glasgow was making some noise in the country. Allan, therefore, resolved to apprentice his son to those gentlemen upon the terms given out in their prospectus of the institution. On the 25th of February, 1755, when exactly eleven years of age, the young draughtsman was bound apprentice to the Messrs Foulis for seven years, to attend their painting academy in the university of Glasgow. In Newhall house there is a sketch in oil, done by him, repre-

senting the inside of the academy, with an exact portrait of Robert Foulis in the act of criticising a large picture, and giving instructions to his principal painter about it.

In the year 1764, some of his performances attracted the notice of lord Cathcart, whose seat, Shaw Park, was situated in Clackmannanshire near Alloa. Lady Cathcart introduced him to the notice of lady Frances Erskine, daughter of the insurgent earl of Mar, and mother of the gentleman to whom the peerage was restored in 1824; as also to lady Charlotte Erskine, to Mrs Abercromby of Tullibody, mother of Sir Ralph, and to some other personages of distinction in the neighbourhood of his birth-place. By the associated purses of these kind patrons, Allan was enabled to go to Italy, where he studied with unremitting application for eleven years. During his residence there, lady Cathcart used to write to him with all the care and affection of a mother. In 1773, while living at Rome, he gained the prize medal given by the academy of St Luke for the best specimen of historical composition; being the only Scotchman who had ever reached that honour, besides Mr Gavin Hamilton.

After his return in 1777, Allan resided for about two years in London; but, falling into a bad state of health, he was ordered home to Scotland for a change of air. Soon after his arrival in Edinburgh, he was appointed successor to Runciman (deceased), as master and director of the academy established by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and Improvements, for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the principles of the fine arts and elegance of design, in the various manufactures and works which required to be figured and ornamented; a charge for which he was peculiarly well qualified, by the extensive knowledge he possessed of every branch of the art. He retained the situation till his death.

Allan was much admired for his talents in composition, the truth with which he delineated nature, and the characteristic humour which distinguished his pictures, drawings, and etchings. There are several engravings from his pictures, as, "The Origin of Painting, or the Corinthian maid drawing the shadow of her lover," and four in aqua-tinta by Paul Sandby, from drawings made by Allan when at Rome, representing the sports during the carnival. Several of the figures were portraits of persons well known to the English who visited Rome between 1770 and 1780. There is one caricature by Allan, which is well known to Scottish collectors: it represents the interior of a church or meeting-house at Dunfermline, at the moment when an imprudent couple are rebuked by the clergyman. There is a drollery about the whole of this performance that never fails to amuse. The alliance of his genius to that of our national poets, led Allan, in 1788, to publish an edition of the Gentle Shepherd, with characteristic drawings. He also published a collection of the most humorous of the old Scottish songs, each illustrated by a characteristic etching. At his death, which happened on the 6th of August, 1796, he left a series of drawings designed for the poems of Burns, in an equally graphic and humorous style. There is one property which runs through all the designs of Allan, and by which his productions may be distinguished at the most casual glance: this is a peculiar elegance of form which he always gives to the limbs of his figures—elegance to such a degree, that, in many cases, it may be pronounced out of nature.

Allan, by his wife, whom he married in 1788, left one son, bearing his own name, and who was sent out as a cadet to India, and one daughter named Barbara. In person, our Scottish Hogarth, as he was called, had nothing attractive. The misfortunes attending his entrance into the world were such as nothing in after life could repair. "His figure was a bad resemblance of his humorous precursor of the English metropolis. He was under the middle size; of a slender, feeble make; with a long, sharp, lean, white, coarse face, much pitted by the small-pox,

and fair hair. His large prominent eyes, of a light colour, were weak, near-sighted, and not very animated. His nose was long and high, his mouth wide, and both ill-shaped. His whole exterior to strangers appeared unengaging, trifling, and mean; and his deportment was timid and obsequious. The prejudices naturally excited by these disadvantages at introduction, were, however, dispelled on acquaintance; and, as he became easy and pleased, gradually yielded to agreeable sensations; till they insensibly vanished, and at last, were not only overlooked, but, from the effect of contrast, even heightened the attractions by which they were so unexpectedly followed. When in company he esteemed, and which suited his taste, as restraint wore off, his eye imperceptibly became active, bright, and penetrating; his manner and address quick, lively, and interesting—always kind, polite, and respectful; his conversation open and gay, humorous without satire, and playfully replete with benevolence, observation, and anecdote.”—*Brown's edition of the Gentle Shepherd*, 1808.

The author who thus forcibly delineates his external appearance, gives the following character of his genius. “As a painter, at least in his own country, he neither excelled in drawing, composition, colouring, nor effect. Like Hogarth, too, beauty, grace, and grandeur, of individual outline and form, or of style, constitute no part of his merit. He was no Corregio, Raphael, or Michael Angelo. He painted portraits as well as Hogarth, below the middle size; but they are void of all charms of elegance, and of the *claro-obscuro*, and are recommended by nothing but a strong homely resemblance. As an artist and a man of genius, his characteristic talent lay in *expression*, in the imitation of nature with truth and humour, especially in the representation of ludicrous scenes in low life. His eye was ever on the watch for every eccentric figure, every motley group, or ridiculous incident, out of which his pencil or his needle could draw innocent entertainment and mirth.”

ALSTON, CHARLES, M.D. an eminent botanist, was born in 1683, in Lanarkshire, and spent his early years at Hamilton palace, under the patronage of the duchess of Hamilton. Her grace wished him to study the law, but he preferred botany and medicine, and accordingly, in 1716, set out for Leyden, where those sciences were at that time taught by the illustrious Boerhaave. Here he found a great number of young Scotsmen engaged in the same pursuit, and all inspired with an uncommon degree of enthusiasm in their studies, which they had caught from their master. Alston, after taking his degree as doctor of physic, returned to his native country, and began to practise in Edinburgh. He obtained the sinecure office of king's botanist, through the influence of the duke of Hamilton, heritable keeper of Holyrood-house, to which the garden was attached. This garden he enriched by large collections which he had made in Holland, where botanical science was then more highly cultivated than in any other country in Europe. In 1720, notwithstanding that a botanical class was taught in the college by a professor of eminence named Preston, he began a course of lectures in the king's garden. Preston, at length waxing old, Alston was, in 1738, chosen to succeed him, as professor of botany and *materia medica* united. He was exceedingly laborious in his duties as a professor, giving a course on botany every summer, and one on *materia medica* every winter; and never sparing any pains which he thought could be conducive to the progress of his pupils. The celebrated Dr Fothergill, in his character of Dr Russell, bears ample testimony to the assiduity of Dr Alston, who had been his master; and describes in glowing language the benefit which those who attended him had the means of reaping, his caution in speculation, and how laborious he was in experiment. For the assistance of his pupils, he published, about 1740, a list of the official plants cultivated in the Edinburgh medical garden. Of Linnæus's system, which was first promulgated in

1738, Dr Alston, like many other philosophers of his day, was a steady opponent. He published a paper against it, on the sexes of plants, in the first volume of "Physical and Literary Essays," a miscellany which was commenced at Edinburgh, in 1751. The controversy which took place at that period amongst naturalists has now lost all its interest, seeing that the method of Linnæus, after serving a useful purpose, has been superseded by the natural system, to the foundation of which Linnæus in no small degree contributed, but which it was left to Jussieu and De Candolle to mature. Dr Alston also contributed some articles to an Edinburgh miscellany entitled "Medical Essays;" the most important is one on opium. In 1753, he published an introduction to Dr Patrick Blair's *Index Medicæ*, a work which resembled his own index in a considerable degree. This introduction was a separate work, and was entitled, *Tyrocinium Botanicum Edinburgense*. Dr Alston, as the contemporary of the first Monro, and professor of a kindred branch of science, was by no means unworthy of either his time or his place. He must be considered as one of those who have contributed to the exaltation of the college of Edinburgh, as a school of medical science. He died on the 22nd of November, 1760, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

ALVES, ROBERT, a poet and miscellaneous writer, born at Elgin, in 1745, took his degrees in philosophy at Aberdeen, where he enjoyed the friendship of Dr Beattie, and afterwards, though designed for the church, settled as parish schoolmaster of Deakford. From this place he removed, in 1773, to Banff, whence he migrated in 1779, to Edinburgh, on account of a disappointment in love. In Edinburgh he subsisted by teaching such private persons as chose to employ him, in the Greek, Roman, French, and Italian classics; like a true poet, he was not greatly solicitous about the means of subsistence. Mr Creech, in 1782, published a volume of miscellaneous poems by Alves; in 1789, appeared another, under the title of "Edinburgh, a Poem, in two parts, and the Weeping Bard, in sixteen cantos." In 1784, Alves commenced a laborious work entitled, "Sketches of a History of Literature," which was in the press when he died, January 1st, 1794, and was afterwards published by Dr Alexander Chapman, at whose press it was printed for the intended benefit of the author. This work contains lives and characters of the most eminent writers in different languages, ancient and modern, with critical remarks on their works, together with several literary essays; though miserably inaccurate in every particular, it shows an extensive acquaintance with ancient and modern learning. After his death was published, in 1801, "the Banks of Esk," and other poems, a small 12mo. vol. In a vigorously written preface he repels the aspersions and ridicule cast upon Scotland and Scotsmen, by many English literary men of the period, especially Churchill, Wilks, Junius, and Johnson; and in the introductory canto to "the Banks of Esk," he retaliates on them with great cleverness and vivacity.

ANDERSON, ADAM, author of the largest British compilation upon commercial history, was a native of Scotland, born about the year 1692. Having removed to London, he was for forty years a clerk in the South Sea house, and at length was appointed chief clerk of the Stock and New Annuities in that establishment, in which situation he continued till his death. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, by charter dated June 9th, 5 Geo. II. He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots Corporation in London. In 1762, he published his work, entitled, "A Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce, from the earliest accounts to the present time; containing a history of the large commercial interests of the British Empire," &c. Lond. 2 vols. folio. The elaborate character of this work, says much for the industry of the author. It was subsequently improved in a new edition by David Macpherson, 4 vols. quarto; and a manual abridgement of the

work may still be considered a want in our literature. Mr Anderson died soon after he had given it to the world, January 10th, 1765, at the age of seventy-three.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER, a very eminent mathematician, born at Aberdeen, near the close of the sixteenth century. How or where he acquired his mathematical education is not known; he probably studied belles lettres and philosophy in his native university. He comes into notice at Paris, early in the seventeenth century, as a private teacher or professor of mathematics. In that city, between the years 1612 and 1619, he published or edited various geometrical and algebraical tracts, which are conspicuous for their ingenuity and elegance. It is doubtful whether he was ever acquainted with the famous Vieta, Master of Requests at Paris, who died in 1603; but his pure taste and skill in mathematical investigation pointed him out to the executors of that illustrious man, who had found leisure, in the intervals of a laborious profession, to cultivate and extend the ancient geometry, and by adopting a system of general symbols, to lay the foundation, and begin the superstructure, of algebraical science, as the person most proper for revising and publishing his valuable manuscripts. Anderson, however, did not confine himself to the duty of a mere editor; he enriched the text with learned comments, and gave neat demonstrations of those propositions which had been left imperfect. He afterwards produced a specimen of the application of geometrical analysis, which is distinguished by its clearness and classic elegance.

The works of this eminent person amount to six thin quarto volumes, now very scarce. These are,—1. *Supplementum Apollonii Redivivi: sive analysis problematis hactenus desiderati ad Apollonii Pergæi doctrinam περί νύκτων* a Marino Ghetaldo Patrio Regusino hujusque non ita pridem institutam, &c. Paris, 1612, 4to. This tract refers to the problem of inclinations, by which, in certain cases, the application of the curve called the *conchoid* is superseded.—2. *Λιτιολογία: Pro Zeteticæ Apolloniani problematis a se jam pridem edito in supplemento Apollonii Redivivi.* Being an addition to the former work. Paris, 1615, 4to.—3. The edition of the works of Vieta. Paris, 1615, 4to.—4. *Ad Angularum Sectionem Analytica Theoremata καθολικώτερα*, &c. Paris, 1615, 4to.—5. *Vindiciæ Archimedis*, &c. Paris, 1616, 4to.—6. *Alexandri Andersoni Scoti Exercitationum Mathematicarum Decas Prima*, &c. Paris, 1619, 4to. All these pieces, of this excellent geometrician, are replete with the finest specimens of pure geometrical exercises that have ever perhaps been produced by any authors, ancient or modern. Besides these, literary history is not aware of any other publications by Anderson, though probably there may have been others. Indeed, from the last piece it fully appears that he had at least written, if not published, another, viz. A Treatise on the Mensuration of Solids, perhaps with a reference to gauging; as in several problems, where he critically examines the treatise of Kepler on cask-gauging, he often refers to his own work on stereo-metry.

This eminent person was cousin-german to Mr David Anderson of Finshaugh, a gentleman who also possessed a singular turn for mathematical knowledge, and who could apply his acquirements to so many useful purposes that he was particularly known at Aberdeen by the name of *Davie Do-a'-things*. He acquired prodigious local fame by removing a large rock, which had formerly obstructed the entrance to the harbour of Aberdeen. Mathematical genius seems to have been in some degree inherent in the whole family; for, through a daughter of Mr David Anderson, it reached the celebrated James Gregory, inventor of the reflecting telescope, who was the son of that lady, and is said to have received, from her, the elements of mathematical knowledge. From the same lady was descended the late Dr Reid of Glasgow, who was not less eminent for his acquaintance with the mathematics, than for his metaphysical writings.

ANDERSON, JAMES, an eminent antiquary, was the son of the Rev. Patrick Anderson, who had been ejected for non-conformity at the Restoration, and afterwards suffered imprisonment in the Bass, for preaching in a conventicle at Edinburgh. The subject of this memoir, whose brother, Adam, has already been commemorated, was born, August 5th, 1662, and in 1677, is found studying philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, where, after finishing a scholastic education, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts, on the 27th of May, 1680. He chose the law for his profession, and, after serving an apprenticeship under Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, was admitted a member of the society of writers to the signet in 1691. In this branch of the legal profession, the study of written antiquities in some measure forces itself upon the practitioner; and it appears that Anderson, though a diligent and able man of business, became in time too fond of the accessory employment to care much for the principal. A circumstance which occurred in 1704, decided his fate by tempting him into the field of antiquarian controversy. The question of the union of the two countries was then very keenly agitated—on the one side with much jealous assertion of the national independency—and on the other, with not only a contempt for the boasts of the Scots, but a revival of the old claims of England for a superiority or paramourcy over their country. A lawyer named Attwood, in 1704, published a pamphlet in which all the exploded pretensions of Edward I. were brought prominently into view, and a direct dominion in the crown of England asserted over that of Scotland. For this work, Mr Anderson, though altogether unknown to Mr Attwood, was cited as an evidence and eye-witness, to vouch some of the most important original charters and grants by the kings of Scotland, which Attwood maintained were in favour of the point he laboured to establish. Mr Anderson, in consequence of such an appeal, thought himself bound in duty to his country, to publish what he knew of the matter, and to vindicate some of the best of the Scottish kings, who were accused by Attwood of a base and voluntary surrender of their sovereignty. Accordingly, in 1705, he published "An Essay, showing that the crown of Scotland is imperial and independent," Edinburgh, 8vo. which was so acceptable to his country, that, besides a reward, thanks were voted to him by parliament, to be delivered by the lord Chancellor, in presence of her Majesty's high Commissioner and the Estates; at the same time that Attwood's book, like others of the same nature, was ordered to be burnt at the cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman. Mr Anderson's publication is now of little value, except for the charters attached to it in the shape of an appendix.

This affair was the crisis of Anderson's fate in life. He had, in the course of his researches for the essay, collected a large mass of national papers; the study of charters was just then beginning to be appreciated by antiquaries; the enthusiasm of the nation was favourable, for the moment, to any undertaking which would show the ancient respectability of its separate system of government. Under all these circumstances, Anderson found it easy to secure the patronage of the Scottish estates towards a design for engraving and publishing a series of fac-similes of the royal charters, previous to the reign of James I., and of seals, medals, and coins, from the earliest to the present time. In November, 1706, he had a parliamentary grant of three hundred pounds towards this object. He then proceeded vigorously with the work, and in March, 1707, had not only expended the three hundred pounds granted by parliament, but five hundred and ninety pounds besides, which he had drawn from his own funds. A committee reported the facts; and the estates, while they approved of his conduct, recommended to the Queen to bestow upon him an additional contribution of one thousand and fifty pounds sterling. Another parliamentary act of grace—and one of the very

last proceedings of the Scottish estates—was to recommend him to the Queen “as a person meriting her gracious favour, in conferring any office or trust upon him, as her Majesty in her royal wisdom, shall think fit.”

Quite intoxicated with this success, Anderson now gave up his profession, and, resolving to devote himself entirely to the national service as an antiquary, removed to London, in order to superintend the progress of his work. The event only added another proof to what is already abundantly clear—that scarcely any prospects in the precarious fields of literature, ought to tempt a man altogether to resign a professional means of subsistence. The money voted by the expiring parliament is said to have never been paid;—the British senate perhaps considering itself not the proper heir of the Scottish estates. Apparently in lieu of money, he was favoured, in 1715, with the appointment of post-master general for Scotland; but of this he was deprived in little more than two years. What progress he now made with his great work is not very clearly known. He is found, in 1718, advertising that those who might wish to encourage it “could see specimens at his house, above the post-office in Edinburgh.” As the expense of engraving must have borne hard upon his diminished resources, he would appear to have digressed for some years into an employment of a kindred nature, attended with greater facilities of publication. In 1727, he published the two first volumes of his well known “Collections relating to the History of Mary, Queen of Scotland,” Edinburgh, 4to, which was speedily completed by the addition of two other volumes. This work contains a large mass of valuable original documents connected with the Marian controversy; but George Chalmers, who went over the same ground, insinuates that there is too much reason to suspect his honesty as a transcriber. If the prejudices of the two men are fairly balanced against the reputations which they respectively bear as antiquaries, we must acknowledge that the charge may not be altogether groundless.

Anderson died in 1728 of a stroke of apoplexy, leaving his great work unfinished. The plates were sold, in 1729, by auction, at £530, and it was not till 1737 that the work appeared, under the title of “*Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus*,” the whole being under the care of the celebrated Thomas Ruddiman, who added a most elaborate preface.

ANDERSON, JAMES, D.D. author of a large and useful work, entitled, “*Royal Genealogies*,” was the brother of Adam Anderson, author of the *Commercial History*. He was for many years minister of the Scots presbyterian church in Swallow-street, Piccadilly, and was well known among the people of that persuasion in London, by the nick-name of Bishop Anderson. He was a learned but imprudent man, and lost a considerable part of his property from too deep dabbling in the South-Sea scheme. His great work as an author was, “*Royal Genealogies, or the Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam (!) to these Times*,” London, folio, 1732. The compilation of this huge work, in which he was aided by many eminent personages, whose families entered into its plan, cost him, according to his own account, the labour of seven years. It is certainly the completest work of the kind in existence, though with no pretensions to discrimination. The author says very frankly in his preface, that, “He has avoided all terms and expressions that may give offence to any nation or family, to any person or party; having nothing to do with the national controversies of historians, nor with the ecclesiastical and religious debates of theologians, nor with the politics of statesmen, nor with the private jangles of the critics in a work of this kind, but only with facts and *plain truth*: so that he has let every nation enjoy its own faith; and if any find fault, he hopes they will readily excuse him, not having designed to offend them, and is willing to make satisfaction, if he lives to publish a second edition.” Dr Anderson also wrote

"The Constitutions of the Free Masons," being the chaplain of that body in London. The dates of this worthy man's birth and death are not ascertained. He lived in a house opposite to St James's church, Piccadilly.

ANDERSON, JAMES, an agricultural and miscellaneous writer of great merit, was the son of a farmer at Hermiston, in the county of Midlothian, where he was born in the year 1739. His father dying when he was very young, he was educated by his guardian to occupy the farm, which accordingly he began to manage at the early age of fifteen. It may be supposed that he could not have been intrusted with so important a charge, if he had not already manifested symptoms of superior character and intellect; much less, without such qualifications, could he have discharged it, as he is said to have done, with the approbation of all who had occasion to observe his operations. In reading some agricultural works, to qualify himself for his duties, he had observed that it would be of advantage to study chemistry: he accordingly attended the lectures given in the university of Edinburgh by Dr Cullen, who, although surprised that one so young should have formed this resolution, had soon reason to admire his pupil's laudable curiosity and good sense, and liberally afforded him every encouragement in his power. To chemistry he added the study of certain collateral branches of science; so that, when he entered upon his farm, he was not only able to keep up with his more aged and experienced neighbours, but adopted a number of improvements, suggested by scientific knowledge and native good sense, which were speedily found to be of a most profitable nature. Among his improvements was the introduction of the small two-horse plough, which, since then, has so completely banished the lumbering engine formerly drawn by a string of cattle. Nor did the necessary business of his farm preclude all advancement in knowledge. He still prosecuted his studies with great eagerness, and soon contrived to amass an immense stock of information upon almost all subjects.

His first attempts in literature appeared in the shape of Essays on Planting, in Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine for 1771. In 1777, having previously removed to a large farm in Aberdeenshire, he published these essays in a separate volume. In 1776, appeared his Essay on Chimneys, in which the principle afterwards acted on in the patent Bath stove was first explained. In the same year with his volume on Planting, appeared various pamphlets connected with rural economy, all of which were more or less calculated to gratify the increasing desire of his countrymen for scientific knowledge upon such familiar subjects. The fame of these works procured him a very extensive acquaintance with persons of eminence, who wished to profit by the remarks of so able a practical farmer; and in 1780, the University of Aberdeen acknowledged his merit by conferring upon him the degree of LL.D.

Anderson had been married in 1768; and a desire of educating a very numerous family, together with certain considerations as to the enjoyment of literary society, induced him, in 1783, to remove to Edinburgh, leaving the management of his farm to persons properly qualified. A tract which he had written on the subject of the Fisheries, though not printed, attracted the attention of the government, and he was requested in 1784 to undertake a tour of the western coast of Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining information on this important subject. He readily acquiesced, and performed the task to the high satisfaction of his employers, who, however, never offered him any remuneration. The result of his labours appeared in 1785, as "An Account of the present state of the Hebrides and Western Coasts of Scotland; being the substance of a report to the Lords of the Treasury."

Passing over some minor works of Dr Anderson, we must make honourable

mention of a literary and scientific miscellany which he commenced in 1791, under the title of the Bee. This work was published in weekly numbers at sixpence, and, by its delightful intermixture of useful information with lighter matters of the *belles lettres*, was eminently calculated for the improvement of the young. It was occasionally embellished with portraits, views, and draughts or scientific objects—in, it is true, a very homely style, but still not much inferior to the taste of the age, and certainly fitted to give the work an increased merit in the eyes of its juvenile purchasers. The work ran from the 22nd of December, 1790, to the 21st of January, 1794, when it was at length reluctantly abandoned, as the ingenious editor informs us, not on account of any failure in its circulation, for that was considerable enough to yield a large apparent profit, but because such a large proportion of the subscribers were remiss in their payments as to induce an absolute loss to the conductor. The cessation of such a meritorious little publication was the more to be regretted, as Anderson had only been able, towards its close, to bring the assistance of his numerous and distant correspondents into full play. The numbers published form eighteen volumes duodecimo, and throughout the whole of that space, we believe there does not occur one line which can be considered reprehensible for its moral effect.

Among other papers in the Bee was a series of Essays on the Political Progress of Britain. Though only written in what would now be considered a liberal strain, they appeared in the eyes of the sheriff as calculated to have an injurious tendency at that inflamed period; and the learned Doctor was accordingly summoned to give up the name of the author. This Anderson refused, from peculiar notions as to literary secrecy; he desired to be himself considered as the author. After a second and a third application, he still refused; and when the printers were sent for, and similarly interrogated, he charged them in the face of the magistrates, to preserve his secret. All this was the more singular, as his own principles were known to be eminently loyal. Respect for his talents and character induced the magistrates to let the matter drop. The real author, a worthless person named Callender, being afterwards about to quit his country for America, waited upon the authorities, and insinuated that the papers were written by lord Gardenstone, a man to whom he owed many obligations. Immediately on hearing of this infamous conduct, Anderson came forward, and refuted the charge by avowing Callender himself to be the real author. The whole of this affair reflects great credit upon the character of Dr Anderson.

About the year 1797, this ingenious person removed with his family to London, where he undertook various works connected with his favourite study of agriculture. For several years he wrote the articles on this subject in the Monthly Review; and from 1799 to 1802, he conducted a separate miscellany under the title of "Recreations in Agriculture," which was only discontinued on account of some obstructions incident to such a mode of publication. From the last mentioned date, he devoted himself almost entirely to the relaxation which advanced years and severe studies had rendered necessary, and particularly to the cultivation of his garden, which became a miniature of all his past labours. In 1801, he married a second wife, who survived him. He died on the 15th of October, 1808, at the age of sixty-nine.

In his younger days, Dr Anderson was remarkably handsome in his person, of middle stature, and robust make. Extremely moderate in his living, the country exercise animated his cheek with the glow of health; but the overstrained exertion of his mental powers afterwards shook his constitution, and hurried him into old age. He was a man of independent mind; and in the relative duties of husband and father, exhibited a prudential care, mixed with affection, which commanded the admiration of his friends. Of Dr Anderson's abilities, his works

exhibit so many proofs that they may be appealed to with perfect confidence. Although a voluminous writer, there is no subject connected with his favourite pursuit, on which he has not thrown new light. But his knowledge was not confined to one science. He exhibited, to give only one instance, very considerable powers of research, when in 1773, he published, in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, an article under the head Monsoon. In this he clearly predicted the result of captain Cook's first voyage; namely, that there did not exist, nor ever would be found, any continent or large island in the southern hemisphere except New Holland alone; and this was completely verified on captain Cook's return seven months afterwards. Upon the whole, though the name of Dr Anderson is associated with no scientific or literary triumphs of great splendour, his exertions, by their eminent and uniform usefulness, have given him very considerable claims to respect. A minute specification of his works is to be found in the *Scots Magazine* for 1809.

ANDERSON, JOHN, M.A. an eminent Presbyterian clergyman of last century, grandfather of Professor Anderson, the subject of the next article. Of his early history very little is known, except that he received a university education, and took his degree in arts. He was afterwards preceptor to the great John Duke of Argyll, and he mentions in his letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries, that he had resided in Edinburgh for twenty-five years in early life. He seems also to have taught a school, and he is upbraided by "Curat Calder," with having been "an old pedantic dominie, teaching *hæc dat a*." It was not, however, till after his settlement as minister of Dumbarton, that he became known as author. The earliest of his productions that has been discovered is entitled, "A Dialogue between a Curat and a Countreyman concerning the English Service, or Common-Prayer Book of England," which was printed in quarto at Glasgow, about 1710. The question relative to the form of prayer used in Scotland, immediately after the Reformation, was at this time keenly canvassed by the Scottish Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and the clergy of the former persuasion had very shortly before introduced the liturgy into their church service. (Carstares' State Papers.) Mr, afterwards Bishop, Sage endeavoured in his "Fundamental Charter of Presbytery Examined," to show that the English liturgy had been used in Scotland for at least seven years after the establishment of the Protestant religion. In this he was opposed by Mr Anderson, who adduced many arguments to prove that it was not the English liturgy that is spoken of by the Scottish historians, but that used by the English church at Geneva. Soon afterwards Anderson published a "Second Dialogue," (dated 1711) in which, says he, "there is hardly any thing of importance which is not said in the very words of the writers of the other side," and in which South, Beveridge, Hammond, and Burnet are the Curates whose sentiments are opposed. "A Letter from a Countreyman to a Curat," followed the dialogues, and received several answers, of which we shall only mention one, written by Robert Calder, an Episcopalian clergyman, the friend of Dr Archibald Pitcairn, and printed in his "Miscellany Numbers relating to the controversies about the Book of Common Prayer," &c. folio, 1713. To this attack Anderson replied in a pamphlet entitled "Curat Calder Whipt." He soon after published "A Sermon preached in the church of Ayr at the opening of the Synod, on Tuesday the first of April, 1712," printed at the desire of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, (quarto, price sixpence,) and in 1714, the work by which he is best known appeared. It has for its title, "A Defence of the Church Government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians, in answer to a book entitled an Apology for Mr Thomas Rhind," &c. 4to, and is dedicated to Archibald Earl of Islay. About the beginning of the year 1717, Anderson informs us, "the people of Glasgow were pleased to move that I should be called to be one of the ministers of that place." (Letter to Stewart of Pardovan, p. 1.)

but the proceedings relative to this transaction strikingly illustrate the truth of Wodrow's remark in a letter to Dr Cotton Mather.¹ "We are biting and devouring one another," says the venerable historian, "and like to be consumed one of another. In our neighbouring city of Glasgow, where since the Revolution, unity and harmony, and consequently vital religion flourished, now heat, and strife, and every evil work abound. The university is split and broken. The magistrates and ministers are at present in no good terms." The same author gives us some additional information relative to Mr Anderson's case in a letter to the Rev. James Hart, one of the ministers of Edinburgh in 1718.² "Our Synod last week," says he, "had the Presbytery of Glasgow's reference of Mr Anderson's call before them; the ministers' reasons of dissent and the town's answers were read, and the ministers' answers to them read, *viva voce*. The advice given at the close of the last Synod when the house was thin (to fall from Mr Anderson) was disliked by the Synod now when full, and it was agreed not to be recorded. The vote came to be stated,—concur with the call, and transmit it to the Presbytery of Dumbarton, or refer to the Assembly; and it carried,—concur 63, refer 41; whereon the ministers and four or five of the Presbytery appealed to the Assembly, and gave in a complaint verbally against Mr Anderson, which the Synod obliged them to bring in in write, signed, to-morrow." Mr Anderson was, however, at length settled in Glasgow in 1720, although it appears from M'Ure's History that the North-West Church to which he was appointed was not founded till 1721, nor finished for "a year or two thereafter." It would be difficult to explain Anderson's motives in coming to Glasgow,—his colleagues were disgusted at a letter addressed by him to Walter Stewart of Pardovan, which was published in 1717, and contained some severe remarks upon them, and he says, in a strain of bitter irony, "I confess I was under a great temptation of being eager for a settlement in Glasgow, for what minister would not be fond of a lesser stipend and a double charge!"³ Nor was he more fortunate in his first appearance in his new parish, for he had, according to M'Ure, a kind of consecration sermon, which disgusted "the stricter, or more bigotted sort of the people." In the same year in which he was appointed one of the ministers of Glasgow, "Mr Anderson's Letters upon the Overtures concerning Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries" appeared in 12mo. Of this topic he says, "I must needs confess that it is the most melancholy subject I ever wrote upon. There was pleasure as well as duty in contending with our prelatric adversaries; but alas!

In civil war, to lose or gain 's the same,
To gain 's no glory, and to lose a shame."

These letters extend to six, and although now little known, as they refer merely to an ephemeral subject, contain some curious historical information, and not a little satire. Mr Anderson did not long survive his call to Glasgow,—the date of his death has not been ascertained, but his successor was appointed in 1723. His controversial writings are full of valuable historical information, and show him to have been thoroughly versed in theological literature, but it cannot be too much regretted that he so far indulged in intemperate language. We have not alluded to some of his smaller pamphlets, which refer merely to subjects of a temporary or local nature.

Upon the family tomb-stone, erected by the will of Professor Anderson, over the grave of his grandfather, upon the front of the North-West Church, Glasgow, was inscribed the following memorial of Mr Anderson:—"Near this place ly the remains of the Rev. John Anderson, who was preceptor to the famous John Duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and minister of the gospel in Dumbarton in the

¹ Wodrow's History, new edition, vol. 1. p. xxv.

² History, vol. 1. p. xxii.

³ Letters on the Overtures p. 67.

beginning of the eighteenth century, and in this church in the year 1720. He was the author of 'The Defence of the Church-government, Faith, Worship, and Spirit of the Presbyterians,' and of several other ecclesiastical and political tracts. As a pious minister and an eloquent preacher, a defender of civil and religious liberty, and a man of wit and learning, he was much esteemed; he lived in the reign of Charles II., James II., William III., Anne, and George I. Such times, and such a man, forget not, reader, while thy country, liberty, and religion are dear to thee."

ANDERSON, JOHN, F. R. S. professor of natural philosophy in the university of Glasgow, and founder of the eminently useful institution, bearing his name, in that city, was born in the parish of Roseneath in Dumbartonshire, in the year 1726. He was the eldest son of the reverend James Anderson, minister of Roseneath, who was, in his turn, the eldest son of the reverend John Anderson, preceptor to John Duke of Argyle, afterwards minister of the gospel at Dumbarton, and whose memoir is given in the preceding article. The subject of this memoir, having the misfortune to lose his father in early life, was educated by his aunt Mrs Turner, widow of one of the ministers of the High church of Stirling. While residing at this town, where he received the rudiments of learning, he appeared as an officer in the burgher corps raised in February, 1746, to defend it against the forces of the young Chevalier. His conduct on this occasion was worthy of his distinguished ancestor, from whose example he appears to have derived that attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty, which marked his character through life. The carbine and other arms which he carried on the walls of Stirling are preserved in the museum connected with his institution at Glasgow. He received the more advanced part of his education at the college of Glasgow, where, in 1756, he was appointed to be professor of oriental languages, being then in the thirtieth year of his age.

It was not in this sphere that Mr Anderson was destined to shine with greatest lustre. His mind had a decided bent towards the exact sciences, and to the illustration of the arts with which they are connected. His translation, therefore, to the chair of natural philosophy, which took place in 1760, was an event highly agreeable to him, and also most fortunate for the world. While he took an early opportunity after this event, to fulfil an important private duty, by repaying his aunt for the expenses of his education, he entered upon the business of his class with an enthusiastic ardour of application, which we may safely pronounce to have been without example in any Scottish university. Not contented with the ordinary duty of delivering a course of lectures—though he performed that duty in a manner alone sufficient to obtain distinction—he was indefatigable in studying and exemplifying the application of science to mechanical practice; visiting, for this purpose, the workshops of artisans in the town, and receiving, in return for the scientific doctrine which he had to communicate, a full equivalent of experimental knowledge. The most estimable characteristic of professor Anderson, was a liberal and diffusive benevolence in regard to the instruction of his race. Under the inspiration of this feeling, which was in that age more rare, and therefore more meritorious than it is at present, he instituted, in addition to his usual class, which was strictly mathematical, one for the working classes, and others whose pursuits did not enable them to conform to the prescribed routine of academical study, illustrating his precepts by experiments, so as to render it in the highest degree attractive. He continued to teach this *anti-toga class*, as he called it, twice every week, during the session, to the end of his life; and it would not be easy to estimate the aggregate of good which he thus rendered to his fellow-creatures. As an instance of the liberal good sense by which he was governed in his eminently useful scheme, it is related that a mechanic having complained to his assistant, that he had scarcely time, after leaving

his work, to change his dress before coming to the class, and having suggested the propriety of the operatives being allowed to attend without such change, Mr Anderson, being apprized of the wish so expressed, at once acceded to it. His was a mind too strongly bent on mere usefulness, to regard empty form. Yet, as a lecturer, he is allowed to have himself exhibited a surpassing elegance of manner. His style was easy and graceful, his command of language unlimited, and the skill and success with which his manifold experiments were performed, could not be surpassed. He excited the interest, and attracted the attention of his pupils, by the numerous and appropriate anecdotes with which he illustrated and enlivened his lectures. Enthusiastic in his profession, his whole ambition and happiness consisted in making himself useful to mankind, by the dissemination of useful knowledge; and nothing afforded him purer pleasure than hearing that any of his pupils had distinguished themselves in the world. The only distinct work which he published in connection with his favourite science, was a valuable one, entitled, "Institutes of Physics," which appeared in 1786, and went through five editions during the next ten years.

At the commencement of those political changes in France, which ended in such unhappy results, Mr Anderson, as might have been predicated from his ardently liberal and enlightened character, was among those who sympathized most warmly with the proceedings of the emancipated people. Previous to that period, he had prosecuted a taste for the military art, and invented a species of gun, the recoil of which was stopped by the condensation of common air, within the body of the carriage. Having in vain endeavoured to attract the attention of the British government to this invention, he went to Paris, in 1791, carrying with him a model, which he presented to the national Convention. The governing party in France at once perceived the benefit which would be derived from this invention, and ordered Mr Anderson's model to be hung up in their hall, with the following inscription over it—"THE GIFT OF SCIENCE TO LIBERTY." Whilst he was in France, he got a six-pounder made from his model, with which he made numerous experiments in the neighbourhood of Paris, at which the famous Paul Jones, amongst others, was present; and who gave his decided approbation of the gun, as likely to prove highly useful in landing troops from boats, or firing from the round tops or poops of ships of war. Mr Anderson, at this period, took a keen interest in the transactions which passed before his eyes. He was present when Louis XVI. was brought back from Varennes; and on the 14th of July, on the top of the altar of liberty, and in the presence of half a million of Frenchmen, he sang *Te Deum* with the bishop of Paris, when the king took the oath to the Constitution, amen being said to the ceremony by the discharge of five hundred pieces of artillery. As the Emperor of Germany had drawn a military cordon around the frontiers of France, to prevent the introduction of French newspapers into Germany, he suggested the expedient of making small balloons of paper, varnished with boiled oil, and filled with inflammable air, to which newspapers and manifestoes might be tied. This was accordingly practised, and when the wind was favourable for Germany, they were sent off, and descending in that country, were, with their appendages, picked up by the people. They carried a small flag or streamer, of which the following is a translation :—

O'er hills and dales, and lines of hostile troops, I float majestic,
Bearing the laws of God and Nature to oppressed men,
And bidding them with arms their rights maintain."

Mr. Anderson died, January 13th, 1796, in the 70th year of his age, and the 41st year of his professorship, directing, by his will, dated May 7th, 1795, that the whole

of his effects, of every kind, should be devoted to the establishment of an educational institution in Glasgow, to be denominated *Anderson's University*, for the use of the unacademical classes; so that, even while he was consigned to the silent dust, he might still, by means of his honourably acquired wealth, prove of service to those whom he had benefited so much, during his own life, by personal exertion. His will was carried into effect on the 9th of June following, by the magistrates granting a charter of incorporation to the proposed institution. According to the design of the founder, there were to be four colleges—for arts, medicine, law, and theology—besides an initiatory school. Each college was to consist of nine professors, the senior professor being the president or dean. As the funds, however, were inadequate to the plan, it was at first commenced with only a single course of lectures on natural philosophy and chemistry, by Dr Thomas Garnett, well known for his numerous scientific and medical works, and also for his "Tour through the Highlands and part of the Western Isles of Scotland." This course was attended for the first year by nearly a thousand persons of both sexes. In 1798, a professor of mathematics and geography was appointed. The splendid apparatus and library of the founder, which were valued at L.3000, added greatly to the advantages of the infant institution. In 1799, Dr Garnett, being appointed professor in the Royal Institution at London, was succeeded by the eminent Dr Birbeck, who, in addition to the branches taught by his predecessor, introduced a familiar system of philosophical and mechanical information to five hundred operative mechanicks, free of all expense, thus giving rise to *Mechanics' Institutions*. The *Andersonian* institution was placed, by the will of the founder, under the inspection and control of the Lord Provost, and many other honourable persons, as ordinary visitors, and under the more immediate superintendence of eighty-one trustees, who are elected by ballot, and remain in office for life. Since the first establishment of the *University*, as it may very properly be called, it has gradually been extended, nearer and nearer to the original design of the founder. There are now [1852] fifteen professors, who deliver lectures on surgery, institutes of medicine, chemistry, practical chemistry, midwifery, practice of medicine, anatomy, materia medica, pharmacy, and dietetics, medical jurisprudence and police, mathematics, natural philosophy, botany, logic, geography, modern languages, English literature, drawing, and painting, &c. The institution now possesses handsome and commodious buildings, which belong to the corporation, and, among other additions to its means of cultivating and illustrating science, is an extensive museum of natural history and antiquities. *Anderson's University* must be considered a wonderful example of the amount of good which one man, of no very great material resources, may do for his kind. The private fortune of one professor in the original college of Glasgow has here been found sufficient to produce a new fount of learning, not unworthy to rank with the old, and of very great practical utility to the public.

A posthumous work of professor Anderson, entitled, "Observations on Roman Antiquities between the Forth and Clyde," appeared in 1804.

ANDERSON, ROBERT, M.D. the biographer of Smollett and Johnson, was born on 7th of January, 1750, the son of a feuar in the rural village of Carnwath in Lanarkshire. He received the earlier part of his education in his native place, and in the adjacent village of Liberton; was subsequently placed under the tuition of Mr Robert Thomson, master of the grammar-school of Lanark; and finally studied in the university of Edinburgh, where he commenced attendance upon the divinity class, with the view of becoming a clergyman. He took the degree of M.D. at St. Andrews in 1778. In his early years, when pursuing his studies at Carnwath, he could find but one congenial mind in the whole of that rural district; this was an unfortunate youth, named James Græme, the son of a neighbour, who, after exhibit-

ing considerable powers as a poet, died in his twenty-second year, and whose reliques were afterwards included by Dr Anderson, more perhaps through the influence of friendship, than deliberate taste, in his edition of the British poets. Dr Anderson first entered into practice, as surgeon to the Dispensary of Bamborough Castle in Northumberland; he afterwards removed to Alnwick, where he married Miss Gray, daughter of Mr John Gray, a relation of the noble family of that name. The declining state of his wife's health, which rendered a change of air necessary, induced him, in 1784, to remove to Edinburgh, where he ever afterwards resided. He had here the misfortune to lose his amiable partner, who sank under a consumption, leaving him with three infant daughters. Dr Anderson having secured a small independence, practised no more after this period, but engaged in such literary avocations as he felt to be agreeable to his taste, and became the centre of an agreeable coterie, in which the talents of many a youth of genius were for the first time brought into notice. About the year 1793, he began to prepare his edition of the British Poets, which forms thirteen volumes, large octavo, and appeared between the years 1795 and 1807. To the works of each poet is prefixed a biographical memoir by Dr Anderson. In 1793, he married for his second wife, Miss Dale, daughter of Mr David Dale, schoolmaster in East Lothian. A collection of the works of Smollett, by Dr Anderson, with a memoir prefixed, has gone through eight editions. To the last edition is affixed a highly characteristic likeness of the editor. The memoir has been published repeatedly in a distinct shape, and is a very respectable production. Dr Anderson also published a "Life of Dr Samuel Johnson, with critical observations on his works," which has passed through several editions. For several years before the end of the eighteenth century, Dr Anderson was editor of the Edinburgh Magazine, a rival of the Scots Magazine, more varied and lively in its details, and which afforded him an opportunity of bringing forward the productions of his young friends. This work commenced in the year 1784, and at the end of 1803, was incorporated with the Scots Magazine: it was much indebted to its proprietor, James Sibbald, editor of the Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, to Lord Hailes, and other eminent literary characters. Among the publications which Dr Anderson gave to the world, must be included his edition of "The Works of John Moore, M.D., with Memoirs of his Life and Writings;" Edinburgh, 1820, 7 vols. 8vo; and an edition of the poems of Robert Blair; Edinburgh, 1826, 12mo. The great incident of Dr Anderson's literary life was his connection with the commencement of the career of Thomas Campbell. When Campbell first visited Edinburgh in 1797, being then in his twentieth year, he gained the friendship of Dr Anderson, who, on being shown a copy of elegiac verses, written by him two years before, when an obscure tutor in Mull, predicted his great success as a poet. It was through Dr Anderson, in 1798, that Campbell was introduced to the circle of his distinguished literary associates in Edinburgh; and he it was who encouraged him by his friendly advice, and assisted him by his critical acumen, in the publication of his celebrated poem, "the Pleasures of Hope," for the high character of which he had, previously to its appearance, pledged his word to the public. In acknowledgment of his friendship, the grateful poet dedicated his work to Dr Anderson. During the later years of his life, this venerable author, though he indulged as much as ever in literary society, gave no work to the public.

As a literary critic, Dr Anderson was distinguished by a warm sensibility to the beauties of poetry, and by extreme candour. His character as a man was marked by perfect probity in all his dealings, and unshaken constancy in friendship. His manner was lively and bustling; and from his long-continued acquaintance with the literary world, he possessed an unrivalled fund of that species of gossip and anecdote which gives so much pleasure in Boswell's Life of Johnson.

Dr Anderson died of dropsy in the chest, February 20, 1830, in his eighty-first year.

ANDERSON, WALTER, D.D. The era of this gentleman's birth is unknown; he died at an advanced age, July, 1800, after having been minister of the parish of Chirnside for fifty years. He is a remarkable specimen of that class of authors, who, without the least power of entertaining or instructing their fellow-creatures, yet persist in writing and publishing books, which nobody ever reads, and still, like the man crazed by the lottery, expect that the next, and the next, and the next will be attended with success. Perhaps Anderson's *cacoethes scribendi* received its first impulse from the following ludicrous circumstance. His parish comprehending the house of Ninewells, he was often entertained there, in company with the brother of the proprietor—the celebrated David Hume. The conversation having turned one day on the successes of Mr Hume as an author, Anderson said, "Mr David, I dare say other people might write books too; but you clever fellows have taken up all the good subjects. When I look about me, I cannot find one unoccupied." Hume, who liked a joke upon an unsuspecting clergyman, said, "what would you think, Mr Anderson, of a history of Cræsus, king of Lydia?—that has never yet been written." Mr Anderson was delighted with the idea, and, in short, "upon that hint he wrote." In 1755 was published, "The History of Cræsus, king of Lydia, in four parts; containing observations on the ancient notion of destiny, or dreams, on the origin and credit of the oracles, and the principles upon which their oracles were defended against any attack." What is perhaps the best part of the jest, the work was honoured with the following serio-burlesque notice in the Edinburgh Review, then just started by Hume, Smith, Carlyle, and other wits—the article being written, we have no doubt, by the very man who incited the unhappy author to his task:—

"Cræsus king of Lydia is a prince whom we never expected to have met with, as the hero of a serious history. Mankind seem at last to feel the necessity of contracting rather than enlarging that period of history, which ought to be the object of their study and attention. If this sentiment be just, how unfortunate and ill-timed is our author's attempt to recall from oblivion the name and adventures of a monarch of such distant and dubious fame. He himself seems aware of this objection to his work; and it is but just to hear what he can plead in his own defence. 'The enthusiastic principles of ages long past, and the artificial devices then used to work upon the passions of men, may appear to some a subject of history not enough interesting in these times. But if the most essential part of knowledge, derived from history, be that of mankind, it surely cannot well be learned, without thoroughly considering the various sentiments and opinions embraced by them in different ages of the world. Our views of human nature must be partial and confined, if they be only directed to some of its late and present appearances. By carrying our thoughts back into ancient times, we may see reason for abating much of the amazement or dislike which is apt to arise in our minds, when we read the religious or political violences marked out in modern history.'

"If the reader shall sustain this apology for the subject, (which we by no means require him to do,) we can assure him that he will find our author neither destitute of skill in composition, nor a stranger to propriety and neatness of language. He has treated his subjects with abundance of erudition, and by his manner of relating it, renders an old tale somewhat tolerable.

"We cannot, however, imagine our readers to be so much interested in the Lydian monarch, as to make it necessary for us to enter into any detail of his actions. We approve of our author's choice of Herodotus rather than Xeno-

phon; * * but at the same time, our author's history has derived, from Herodotus, an air and character which will appear uncouth to a modern reader; oracles, dreams, prodigies, miraculous interpositions of the gods, and no less miraculous instances of credulity and folly among men, are the objects perpetually before him. The rage of reading novels, which has spread so wonderfully over Britain, may perhaps have accustomed the public ear to such improbabilities. To all true lovers of the marvellous, we therefore recommend our author's hero. His adventures, though related in a better style, are as far removed from truth, and very near as much connected with instruction, as most of those which of late years have been so diligently studied by a great part of the nation.

"We conclude this article with an admonition to the author. In any future performance, we advise him either to venture into the region of pure fiction, or to confine himself within the precincts of real history. In the former, by his talents for composition, he may become an agreeable writer; in the latter his industry may render him an instructive one."

It happens that the work thus noticed in the second number of the Edinburgh Review, was also the subject of a critique in the second number of the Critical Review, which had then been just started in London by Smollett. The article in the latter work bears such evident marks of the pen of the distinguished editor, and refers to such an extraordinary work, that we shall make no apology for the following extracts.

After remarking that the volume has been chiefly compiled from the episodes of Herodotus, that it exhibits a miserable flatness of style, and that all the facts scattered throughout its two hundred and thirty-five pages might have been related in three or four, the critic proceeds to say—"we are apt to believe that this is the first essay of some young historian, who has been more intent upon forming his style and displaying his learning, than careful in digesting his plan, and combining his materials; the subject is too meagre to afford nourishment to the fancy or understanding; and one might as well attempt to build a first-rate man of war from the wreck of a fishing-boat, as to compose a regular history from such a scanty parcel of detached observations. The compiler has been aware of this deficiency, and has filled up his blank paper with unnecessary argument, and a legion of eternal truths, by way of illustration. What could be more unnecessary, for example, than a detail of reasons for doubting the divinity or dæmoniacism of the ancient oracles? who believes, at this time of day, that they were either inspired by the deity, or influenced by the devil? What can be more superfluous than a minute commentary and investigation of the absurdities in the plea of the priestess, when she was taxed with falsehood and equivocation? But we beg the author's pardon; he wrote for readers that dwell beyond the Tweed, who have not yet renounced all commerce with those familiar spirits, which are so totally discarded from this part of the island. There is still a race of soothsayers in the Highlands, derived, if we may believe some curious antiquaries, from the Druids and Bards, that were set apart for the worship of Apollo. The author of the history now before us, may, for ought we know, be one of these venerable seers; though we rather take him to be a Presbyterian teacher, who has been used to expound apothegms that need no explanation."

The history of Cræsus king of Lydia, one of the most curious productions recognised in the history of *literary mania*, is now extremely rare—not by any means from the absorbing appreciation of the public, but rather, apparently, from the very limited extent of its first circulation.

The worthy author, though perhaps daunted a little by the reception of his first attempt, in time recovered the full tone of his literary ambition; and he

next attempted a work of much larger compass, which appeared in 1769, in two quarto volumes, under the title of "The History of France during the reigns of Francis II. and Charles IX., to which is prefixed a Review of the General History of the Monarchy from its origin to that period." The success of this work was much like that of its predecessor; yet in 1775 the author published a continuation in one volume, under the title, "The History of France, from the commencement of the reign of Henry III., and the rise of the Catholic League, to the peace of Worms and the establishment of the famous edict of Nantes in the reign of Henry IV." In 1783, appeared two further volumes, embracing the history from the commencement of the reign of Louis XIII. to the general peace of Munster. But these continuous efforts were not drawn forth by the encouragement of the public; they were solely owing to the desperate *cacoethes* of the worthy writer, which would take no hint from the world—no refusal from fame. It is said that he was solely enabled to support the expense of his unrequited labour by a set of houses belonging to himself in Dunse, (too appropriate locality!) one of which was sold for every successive quarto, till at last something like a street of good habitable tenements in that thriving town was converted into a row of unreadable volumes in his library. "Dr Anderson," says the Gentleman's Magazine, "displays none of the essential qualities of historic writing, no research into the secret springs of action, no discrimination of character, and no industry in accumulating and examining authorities. Even as a compiler he is guided only by one set of materials which he found in the French writers, and may therefore be consulted by the English reader, as a collection of their opinions, while he is highly censurable in not having recourse to original papers and documents respecting the affairs of his own country. His style is uniformly tame, and defaced by colloquial barbarisms."

In a literary history of this deplorable character, it is gratifying to find that one effort was at length judged worthy of some praise. This was a work subsequent to the above, entitled, "The Philosophy of Ancient Greece investigated, in its origin and progress, to the eras of its greatest celebrity, in the Ionian, Italic, and Athenian schools, with remarks on the delineated system of their founders." His principle in this work, according to the authority just quoted, appears to have been to supply the deficiencies in Mr Stanley's work, and to give place to remarks upon the meaning employed by the most eminent Grecian philosophers, in support of their physical, theological, and moral systems; and to give a fuller and more connected display of their theories and arguments, and to relieve the frigidity of their bare details by interspersing observations." In this work he displays much learning, and is in general both accurate and perspicuous, although he is still deficient in the graces of style. Perhaps it would have been more successful had it not appeared at the same time with Dr Enfield's excellent abridgment of Brucker's History of Philosophy.

One of the last attempts of Dr Anderson was a pamphlet against the principles of the French Revolution. This being not only written in his usual heavy style, but adverse to the popular sentiments, met with so little sale, that it could scarcely be said to have been ever *published*. However, the doctor was not discouraged; adopting rather the maxim, "*contra audentior ito*," he wrote a ponderous addition or appendix to the work, which he brought with him to Edinburgh, in order to put it to the press. Calling first upon his friend Principal Robertson, he related the whole design, which, as might be expected, elicited the mirthful surprise of the venerable historian. "Really," said Dr Robertson, "this is the maddest of all your schemes—what! a small pamphlet is found heavy, and you propose to lighten it by making it ten times heavier! Never was such madness heard

of!" "Why, why," answered Dr Anderson, "did you never see a kite raised by boys?" "I have," answered the principal. "Then, you must have remarked that, when you try to raise the kite by itself, there is no getting it up: but only add a long string of papers to its tail, and up it goes like a laverock!" The reverend principal was completely overcome by this argument, which scarcely left him breath to reply, so heartily did he laugh at the ingenuity of the resolute author. However, we believe, he eventually dissuaded Dr Anderson from his design.

ANNAND, WILLIAM, an episcopal divine of the reign of Charles II., was the son of William Annand, minister of Ayr, where he was born in 1633. His father, having read the service-book at Glasgow in 1637, was attacked by the women of that place on the streets, and with some difficulty escaped a tragical fate. He was obliged soon after to fly from Scotland, on account of his adherence to the royal cause. Young Annand became, in 1651, a student at University College, Oxford, and soon gave token of his being inspired with the same predilections as his father. Though placed under a presbyterian tutor, he took every opportunity of hearing the episcopal divines, who preached clandestinely in and around Oxford. In 1656, being then bachelor of arts, he received holy orders from the hands of Dr Thomas Fulwar, bishop of Ardfort or Kerry in Ireland, and was appointed preacher at Weston on the Green, near Becister in Oxfordshire. In this situation, and another to which he was preferred in Bedfordshire, he distinguished himself by his preaching. Immediately after the Restoration, he published two treatises in favour of the episcopal style of worship, which seem to have procured him high patronage, as he was now appointed chaplain to the earl of Middleton, the king's commissioner to the Scottish Estates. Returning to Scotland with this nobleman, he became minister successively of the Tolbooth and of the Tron Churches. As an episcopal clergyman, he must have no doubt been exceedingly unpopular in his own country; but there can be no doubt that both his ministrations and his writings were highly creditable to him, the latter displaying much learning. In 1676, the king appointed him to be dean of Edinburgh, and in 1685 he began to act as professor of divinity at St Andrews. On the 30th of June, 1685, he attended the Earl of Argyle, by order of the government, at his execution, and in his prayer on the scaffold, had the liberality to lament the fall of that nobleman "as one of the pillars of the church," an expression which is said to have given great offence to his superiors. After a life of piety and goodness, he died in 1689, lamenting with his latest breath, and with tears in his eyes, the overthrow of that church which he had exerted himself so much to defend and establish. He said, he never had thought to outlive the church of Scotland, but he hoped that others would live to see it restored.

ARBUTHNOT, ALEXANDER, an eminent divine of the reign of James VI., son of the laird of Arbuthnot, was born in the year 1538. Having studied languages and philosophy in the University of Aberdeen, and civil law under the famous Cujacius at Bourges in France, he took ecclesiastical orders, and became in his own country a zealous supporter of the Reformation. The period of his entrance into life was 1563, when queen Mary was in possession of the kingdom. His eminent abilities and acquirements pointed him out, young as he was, as a leading man in the church, and accordingly he took a prominent part in several general assemblies. In that of 1568, he was appointed by his brethren to examine a work entitled "The Fall of the Roman Church," which was objected to because it styled the king the head of the church. The result of his deliberations was an order to Bassandyne, the printer, not to print any more books till he had expunged this passage, and also taken away a lewd song which he had

published at the end of an edition of the Psalms. The assembly also ordered that henceforth no book should be published till licensed by their commission. "Thus," it has been remarked, "the reformed clergy, who owed their emancipation to the right of private judgment, with strange inconsistency obstructed the progress of free inquiry by taking upon themselves the regulation of the press."

Arbuthnot was soon after appointed minister of the parishes of Arbuthnot and Logie-Buchan, and in 1569 he became Principal of the University of Aberdeen. He was a member of the General Assembly held at St Andrews in 1572, in which strenuous opposition was made to a scheme of church-government, called the "Book of Policy," which was invented by certain statesmen, at the head of whom was the Regent Morton, to restore the old titles of the church, and by means of titular incumbents, retain all the temporalities among themselves. In the General Assemblies held at Edinburgh in 1573 and 1577, Arbuthnot was chosen Moderator; and he appears to have been constantly employed, on the part of the church, in the commission for conducting the troublesome and tedious contest with the Regency concerning the plan of ecclesiastical government to be adopted in Scotland. This commission, under the name of the Congregation, at length absorbed so much power, that the Assembly was left little to do but to approve its resolutions. The part which Arbuthnot took in these affairs gave offence to James VI., and the offence was increased by the publication of Buchanan's History, of which Arbuthnot was the editor. It was therefore resolved to restrain him by an oppressive act of arbitrary power; and a royal order was issued, forbidding him to absent himself from his college at Aberdeen. The clergy, who saw that the design of this order was to deprive them of the benefit of Arbuthnot's services, remonstrated: the king, however, remained inflexible, and the clergy submitted. This persecution probably affected Arbuthnot's health and spirits; for, the next year, 1583, he fell into a gradual decline and died. Arbuthnot appears to have possessed much good sense and moderation, and to have been well qualified for public business. His knowledge was various and extensive; he was a patron of learning; and at the same time that he was active in promoting the interests of the Reformed church, he contributed to the revival of a taste for literature in Scotland. The only prose production which he has left, is a learned and elegant Latin work, entitled "*Orationes de Origine et Dignitate Juris*,"—[Orations on the Origin and Dignity of the Law,] which was printed in 4to at Edinburgh in 1572. For some specimens of vernacular poetry, supposed to be his composition, we may refer to Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets*, and M'Crie's *Life of Andrew Melville*. His character has received a lasting eulogy, in the shape of an epitaph, from the pen of his friend Melville. See *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. p. 120.

ARBUTHNOT, JOHN, M. D. one of the constellation of wits in the reign of queen Anne, and the most learned man of the whole body, was the son of a Scottish clergyman, who bore a near relationship to the noble family of this name and title. He was born at Arbuthnot in Kincardineshire, soon after the Restoration, and received his education at the University of Aberdeen, where he took the degree of M.D. The father of Arbuthnot was one of those members of the church of Scotland, who, not being able to comply with the presbyterian system introduced at the Revolution, were obliged to resign their charges. He retired to a small estate, which he possessed by inheritance; while his sons, finding their prospects blighted in their own country, were under the necessity of going abroad to seek their fortune. John carried his jacobitism, his talents, and his knowledge of physic, to London, where he at first subsisted as a teacher of mathematics. His first literary effort bore a reference to this science: it was an "Examination of Dr Woodward's Account of the Deluge," a work which had

been published in 1695, and which, in Dr Arbuthnot's estimation, was irreconcilable with just philosophical reasoning upon mathematical principles. This publication, which appeared in 1697, laid the foundation of the author's literary reputation, which not long after received a large and deserved increase by his "Essay on the usefulness of Mathematical Learning." The favour which he acquired by these publications, as well as by his agreeable manners and learned conversation, by degrees introduced him into practice as a physician. Being at Epsom, when Prince George of Denmark was suddenly taken ill, he was called in, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. The Prince immediately became his patron, and, in 1709, he was appointed fourth physician in ordinary to the queen, (prince George's royal consort,) in which situation he continued till her majesty's death in 1714. In 1704, Dr Arbuthnot had been elected a member of the Royal Society, in consequence of his communicating to that body a most ingenious paper on the equality of the numbers of the sexes; a fact which he proved by tables of births from 1629, and from which he deduced the reasonable inference that polygamy is a violation of the laws of nature. In 1710, he was elected a member of the Royal College of Physicians.

This was the happy period of Dr Arbuthnot's life. Tory principles and tory ministers were now triumphant; he was in enjoyment of a high reputation, of a lucrative practice, and a most honourable preferment. He also lived in constant intercourse with a set of literary men, almost the greatest who had ever flourished in England, and all of whom were of his own way of thinking in regard to politics. This circle included Pope, Swift, Gray, and Prior. In 1714, he engaged with Pope and Swift, in a design to write a satire on the abuse of human learning in every branch, which was to have been executed in the humorous manner of Cervantes, the original inventor of this species of satire, under the history or feigned adventures. But the prosecution of this design was prevented by the queen's death, which lost Arbuthnot his situation, and proved a death-blow to all the political friends of the associated wits. In the dejection which befell them, they never went farther than an essay, chiefly written by Arbuthnot, under the title of the First Book of the Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus. "Polite letters," says Warburton in his edition of Pope's works, "never lost more than in the defeat of this scheme; in the execution of which, each of this illustrious triumvirate would have found exercise for his own particular talents; besides constant employment for those which they all had in common. Dr Arbuthnot was skilled in every thing which related to science; Mr Pope was a master in the fine arts; and Dr Swift excelled in a knowledge of the world. Wit they had in equal measure; and this so large, that no age perhaps ever produced three men to whom Nature had more bountifully bestowed it, or Art had brought it to higher perfection." We are told by the same writer that the Travels of Gulliver and the Memoirs of a Parish Clerk were at first intended as a branch of the Memoirs of Scriblerus. In opposition to what Warburton says of the design, we may present what Johnson says of the execution. "These memoirs," says the doctor, in his life of Pope, "extend only to the first part of a work projected in concert by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. Their purpose was to censure the abuses of learning by a fictitious life of an infatuated scholar. They were dispersed; the design never was completed; and Warburton laments its miscarriage, as an event very disastrous to polite letters. If the whole may be estimated by this specimen, which seems to be the production of Arbuthnot, with a few touches by Pope, the want of more will not be much lamented; for the follies which the writer ridicules are so little practised, that they are not known; nor can the satire be understood but by the learned. He raises phantoms of absurdity, and then drives them away. He cures diseases that were never felt. For this reason, this joint

production of three great writers has never attained any notice from mankind." With the opinion of Dr Johnson we entirely coincide, so far as the Scriblerus is concerned; but we think that Arbuthnot was unfortunate in the part of the design which he selected, and that, in satirising more palpable follies, he might have been more successful. The success of Swift, in ridiculing mankind in general in his *Gulliver* is surely a sufficient reason, if no other existed, for the lamentation of Warburton.

At the death of the Queen, when it pleased the new government to change all the attendants of the court, the immortal suffered with the mortal; Arbuthnot, displaced from his apartments at St James's, took a house in Dover-street, remarking philosophically to Swift, that he "hoped still to be able to keep a little habitation warm in town." His circumstances were never so prosperous or agreeable after this period. With the world at large, success makes merit—and the want of it the reverse—and it is perhaps impossible for human nature to think so highly of a man who has been improperly deprived of some external mark of distinction and honour, as of him who wears it without so much desert. The wit, left to his own resources, and with a rising family to support, seems to have now lived in some little embarrassment.

In 1717, Arbuthnot, along with Pope, gave assistance to Gay, in a farce entitled, "Three Hours after Marriage," which, strange to say, was condemned the first night. A rival wit wrote upon this subject:—

"Such were the wags who boldly did adventure
To dub a farce by tripartite adventure;
But let them share their dividend of praise,
And wear their own fool's cap instead of bays."

The failure is easily explained, and the explanation partly involves Arbuthnot's character as a literary wit. The satire of the principal character was too confined, too extravagant, and too unintelligible to a general auditory to meet with success on the stage. It would thus appear that Arbuthnot, like many other similar men, had too refined a style of wit in his writings—not that broad, open, palpable humour which flashes at once upon the conceptions of all men, but something too rich and rare to be generally appreciated. His learning led his mind to objects not generally understood or known; and, therefore, when he wrote, he was apt to excite the sympathies of only a very limited class.

In 1722, Dr Arbuthnot found it necessary for his health to indulge in a visit to Bath. He was accompanied on this occasion by a brother, who was a banker at Paris, and whose extraordinary character called forth the following striking description from Pope: "The spirit of philanthropy, so long dead to our world, seems revived in him: he is a philosopher all fire; so warmly, nay so wildly, in the right, that he forces all others about him to be so too, and draws them into his own vortex. He is a star that looks as if it were all on fire, but is all benignity, all gentle and beneficial influence. If there be other men in the world that would serve a friend, yet he is the only one, I believe, that could make even an enemy serve a friend." About this time, the Doctor thus described himself in a letter to Swift: "As for your humble servant, with a great stone in his right kidney, and a family of men and women to provide for, he is as cheerful in public affairs as ever."

Arbuthnot, in 1723, was chosen second censor of the Royal College of Physicians; in 1727, he was made an Elect, and had the honour to pronounce the Harveian oration for the year. In 1727, also appeared his great and learned work entitled, "Tables of Ancient Coins, Weights, and Measures, explained and exemplified in several Dissertations." He continued to practice physic with good reputation, and diverted his leisure hours by writing papers of wit and humour.

Among these may be mentioned one, which appeared in 1731, in the shape of an epitaph upon the infamous colonel Charteris, and which we shall present in this place as perhaps the most favourable specimen of Dr Arbuthnot's peculiar vein of talent :—

"Here continueth to rot the body of Francis Charteris, who, with an inflexible constancy, and inimitable uniformity of life, persisted, in spite of age and infirmities, in the practice of every human vice; excepting prodigality and hypocrisy; his insatiable avarice exempted him from the first, his matchless impudence from the second. Nor was he more singular in the undeviating pravity of his manners, than successful in accumulating wealth; for, without trade or profession, without trust of public money, and without bribe-worthy service, he acquired, or more properly created, a ministerial estate. He was the only person of his time, who could cheat with the mask of honesty, retain his primeval meanness when possessed of ten thousand a year, and, having daily deserved the gibbet for what he did, was at last condemned to it for what he could not do.—Oh! indignant reader! Think not his life useless to mankind! Providence connived at his execrable designs, to give to after ages a conspicuous proof and example of how small estimation is exorbitant wealth in the sight of God, by his bestowing it on the most unworthy of all mortals."

Arbuthnot, about this time, wrote a very entertaining paper on the "Altercations or Scolding of the Ancients." In 1732, he contributed towards detecting and punishing the scandalous frauds and abuses that had been carried on under the specious name of "The Charitable Corporation." In the same year, he published his "Treatise on the Nature and Choice of Aliments," which was followed, in 1733, by his "Essay on the Effects of Air on Human Bodies." He is thought to have been led to these subjects by the consideration of his own case; an asthma, which, gradually increasing with his years, became at length desperate and incurable. A little before his last publication, he had met with a severe domestic affliction in the loss of his son, Charles, "whose life," he says in a letter to Swift, "if it had so pleased God, he would willingly have redeemed with his own." He now retired, in a state of great debility to Hampstead; from whence, in a letter to Pope, July 17th, 1734, he gives the following philosophic, and we may add, touching, account of his condition :

"I have little doubt of your concern for me, nor of that of the lady you mention. I have nothing to repay my friends with at present, but prayers and good wishes. I have the satisfaction to find that I am as officiously served by my friends, as he that has thousands to leave in legacies; besides the assurance of their sincerity. God Almighty had made my distress as easy as a thing of that nature can be. I have found some relief, at least sometimes, from the air of this place. My nights are bad, but many poor creatures have worse.

1 This paragon of wickedness, who was a native of Scotland, is thus described by Pope, but, we believe, as in the epitaph itself, with much exaggeration. "Francis Charteris, a man infamous for all vices. When he was an ensign in the army, he was drummed out of the regiment for a cheat: he was banished Brussels, and turned out of Ghent on the same account. After a hundred tricks at the gaming-tables, he took to lending of money, at exorbitant interest, and on great penalties, accumulating premium, interest, and capital into a new capital, and seizing to a minute when the payment became due; in a word, by a constant attention to the vices, wants, and follies of mankind, he acquired an immense fortune. * * * He was twice condemned for rapes and pardoned, but the last time not without imprisonment in Newgate, and large confiscations. He died in Scotland, in 1731, aged 62. The populace, at his funeral, raised a great riot, almost tore the body out of the coffin, and cast dead dogs, &c. into the grave along with it." We may add, that the mourners had to defend themselves from the mob with their swords. See *Traditions of Edinburgh*. One remarkable feature of Charteris' character is not generally known: though a bully and a coward, he had his fighting days; he would suffer himself to be kicked for refusing a challenge one day, and the next would accept another and kill his man.

"As for you, my good friend, I think, since our first acquaintance, there have not been any of those little suspicions or jealousies that often affect the sincerest friendships; I am sure not on my side. I must be so sincere as to own, that, though I could not help valuing you for those talents which the world prizes, yet they were not the foundation of my friendship; they were quite of another sort; nor shall I at present offend you by enumerating them; and I make it my last request, that you will continue that noble disdain and abhorrence of vice, which you seem naturally endowed with, but still with a due regard to your own safety; and study more to reform than to chastise, though the one cannot be effected without the other.

"Lord Bathurst I have always honoured, for every good quality that a person of his rank ought to have: pray, give my respects and kindest wishes to the family. My venison stomach is gone, but I have those about me, and often with me, who will be very glad of his present. If it is left at any house, it will be transmitted safe to me.

"A recovery in my case, and at my age, is impossible; the kindest wish of my friends is *euthanasia*. Living or dying, I shall always be,—Yours, &c."

In a letter about the same time to Swift, he says he came to Hampstead, not for life, but for ease. That he had gained in a slight degree from riding; but he was "not in circumstances to live an idle country life;" and he expected a return of the disorder in full force on his return in winter to Loudon. He adds, "I am at present in the case of a man that was almost in harbour, but was again blown back to sea; who has a reasonable hope of going to a good place, and an absolute certainty of leaving a very bad one. Not that I have any particular disgust at the world, for I have as great comfort in my own family, and from the kindness of my friends, as any man; but the world in the main displeaseth me; and I have too true a presentiment of calamities that are like to befall my country. However, if I should have the happiness to see you before I die, you will find that I enjoy the comforts of life with my usual cheerfulness. * * * My family give you their love and service. The great loss I sustained in one of them gave me my first shock; and the trouble I have with the rest, to bring them to a good temper, to bear the loss of a father who loves them, and whom they love, is really a most sensible affliction to me. I am afraid, my dear friend, we shall never see one another more in this world. I shall, to the last moment, preserve my love and esteem for you, being well assured that you will never leave the paths of virtue and honour for all that is in the world. This world is not worth the least deviation from that way," &c. In such a strain did this truly good man discourse of his own certain and immediate death, which accordingly took place, February, 1735, in his house, Cork-street, Burlington Gardens, to which he had returned from Hampstead at the approach of winter.

Arbuthnot's character was given by his friend Swift in one dash: "He has more wit than we all have, and more humanity than wit." "Arbuthnot," says Dr Johnson in his life of Pope, "was a man of great comprehension, skilful in his profession, versed in the sciences, acquainted with ancient literature, and able to animate his mass of knowledge by a bright and active imagination; a scholar with great brilliancy of wit; a wit, who, in the crowd of life, retained and discovered a noble ardour of religious zeal." Lord Orrery has thus entered more minutely into his character. "Although he was justly celebrated for wit and learning, there was an excellence in his character more amiable than all his other qualifications, I mean the excellence of his heart. He has shown himself equal to any of his contemporaries in wit and vivacity, and he was superior to most men in acts of humanity and benevolence. His very sarcasms are the satirical strokes of good nature: they are like slaps in the face, given in jest, the

effects of which may raise blushes, but no blackness will appear after the blow. He laughs as jovially as an attendant upon Bacchus, but continues as sober and considerate as a disciple of Socrates. He is seldom serious except in his attacks upon vice; and then his spirit rises with a manly strength, and a noble indignation. His epitaph upon Charteris (allowing one small alteration, the word *permitted*, instead of *connived at*), is a complete and a masterly composition in its kind. No man exceeded him in the moral duties of life; a merit still more to his honour, as the ambitious powers of wit and genius are seldom submissive enough to confine themselves within the limitations of morality. In his letter to Mr Pope, written as it were upon his death-bed, he discovers such a noble fortitude of mind at the approach of his dissolution, as could be inspired only by a clear conscience, and the calm retrospect of an uninterrupted series of virtue. The Dean [Swift] laments the loss of him with a pathetic sincerity. 'The deaths of Mr Gay and Doctor,' says he to Mr Pope, 'have been terrible wounds near my heart. Their living would have been a great comfort to me, although I should never have seen them: like a sum of money in a bank, from which I should receive at least annual interest, as I do from you, and have done from Lord Bolingbroke.'

The wit, to which Swift's was only allowed the second place, was accompanied by a guileless heart, and the most perfect simplicity of character. It is related of its possessor, that he used to write a humorous account of almost every remarkable event which fell under his observation, in a folio book, which lay in his parlour; but so careless was he about his writings after he was done with them, that, while he was writing towards one end of this work, he would permit his children to tear out the leaves from the other, for their paper kites. This carelessness has prevented many of the works of Dr Arbuthnot from being preserved, and no correct list has ever been given. A publication in two volumes, 8vo, at Glasgow, in 1751, professing to be his "*Miscellaneous Works*," was said by his son to consist chiefly of the compositions of other people. He was so much in the habit of writing occasional pieces anonymously, that many fugitive articles were erroneously attributed to him: he was at first supposed to be the author of Robinson Crusoe. He scarcely ever spoke of his writings, or seemed to take the least interest in them. He was also somewhat indolent. Swift said of him, that he seemed at first sight to have no fault, but that he could not walk. In addition to this, he had too much simplicity and worth to profit by the expedients of life: in Swift's words,

"He knew his art, but not his trade."

Swift also must be considered as insinuating a certain levity of feeling, with all his goodness, when he says, in anticipation of his own death,

"Poor Pope will grieve a month, and Gay
A week, and Arbuthnot a day!"

though the habitual cheerfulness of his disposition may have been all that the poet had in his eye. The only other work ascertained as Arbuthnot's, besides those mentioned, is the celebrated *History of John Bull*, a political allegory, which has had many imitations, but no equal. He also attempted poetry, though without any particular effort. A philosophical poem of his composition, entitled, "ΓΝΩΘΙ ΣΕΑΤΤΟΝ," [Know Yourself] is printed in Doddsley's *Miscellanies*. He left a son, George, who was an executor in Pope's will, and who died in the enjoyment of a lucrative situation in the Exchequer office towards the end of the last century; and a daughter, Anne, who was honoured with a legacy by Pope. His second son, Charles, who died before himself, had been educated in Christ church college, Oxford, and entered into holy orders.

ARMSTRONG, JOHN, M.D. author of the well-known poem, entitled, "The Art of Preserving Health," was born, about 1709, in the parish of Castleton, Roxburghshire, where his father and brother were successively ministers. He might almost be styled a poet by right of birth-place, for the parish of Castleton is simply the region of Liddesdale, so renowned for its heroic lays, the records of deeds performed by the border rieviers, among whom the family of the poet bore a distinguished rank. The rude and predatory character of this district had, however, passed away before the commencement of the eighteenth century; and young Armstrong, though his lullabies were no doubt those fine old ballads which have since been published by Sir Walter Scott, seems to have drawn from them but little of his inspiration. It was as yet the fashion to look upon legendary verses as only fit for nurses and children; and nothing was thought worthy of the term poetry, unless it were presented in trim artificial language, after the manner of some distinguished classic writer. It is therefore by no means surprising, that Armstrong, though born and cradled in a land full of beautiful traditional poetry, looked upon it all, after he had become an educated man, as only Doric trash, and found his Tempe in the bower of Twickenham instead of the lonely heaths of Liddesdale.

The only allusion to his native scene is to be found in the following passage of "The Art of Preserving Health;" a warm and elegant apostrophe, and no doubt testifying his affectionate recollection of

— the school-boy spot,

We ne'er forget, though there we are forgot,—

but still deficient in characteristic painting, and unpardonably so in its total silence as to the romantic history of the country, and its spirit-stirring ballads.

But if the breathless chase o'er hill and dale
Exceed your strength, a sport of less fatigue,
Not less delightful, the prolific stream
Affords. The chrystal rivulet that o'er
A stony channel rolls its rapid surge,
Swarms with the silver fry. Such, through the bounds
Of pastoral Stafford, runs the brawling Trent;
Such Eden, sprung from Cumbrian mountains, such
The Esk o'erhung with woods: and such the stream,
On whose Arcadian banks I first drew air,
Liddal, till now, except in Doric lays
Tuned to her murmurs by her love-sick swains,
Unknown in song: though not a purer stream,
Through woods more flowery, more romantic groves,
Rolls toward the western main. Hall, sacred flood!
May still thy hospitable swains be blest
In rural innocence; thy mountains still
Teem with the fleecy race; thy tuneful woods
For ever flourish; and thy vales look gay
With painted meadows, and the golden grain!
Oft with thy blooming sons, when life was new,
Sportive and petulant, and charmed with toys,
In thy transparent eddies have I laved:
Oft traced with patient steps thy fairy banks,
With the well-imitated fly to hook
The eager trout, and with the slender line
And yielding rod solicit to the shore
The struggling panting prey; while vernal clouds—
And tepid gales obscured the ruffled pool,
And from the deeps called forth the wanton swarms.

How different would have been the allusions of a Leyden or a Scott to the land of Jock o' the Side and Hobbie Noble!

Armstrong was educated for the medical profession at the university of Edinburgh, under the elder Monro. In 1732, he took his degrees as M. D. with much reputation, the subject of his treatise being *Tabes Purulenta*. He had ere this period addicted himself to the composition of verses. We are informed, that, to relieve the tedium of a winter spent in "a wild romantic country"—probably Liddesdale—he wrote what he intended for an imitation of Shakespeare, but which turned out to resemble rather the poem of "Winter," then just published by Thomson. The bard of the Seasons, hearing of this composition, which so strangely and so accidentally resembled his own, procured a sight of it by means of a mutual friend, and, being much pleased with it, brought it under the notice of Mr David Mallet, Mr Aaron Hill, and Dr Young, all of whom joined with him in thinking it a work of genius. Mallet even requested the consent of the author to its publication, and undertook that duty, though he afterwards gave up the design.

Armstrong was probably led by this flattering circumstance to try his fortune in London, where his countrymen Thomson and Mallet had already gained literary distinction. In 1735, he is found publishing, in that capital, a humorous attack upon empirics, in the manner of Lucian, entitled, "An Essay for abridging the study of physic, to which is added, A Dialogue betwixt Hygeia, Mercury, and Pluto, relating to the Practice of Physic, as it is managed by a certain illustrious Society; and an Epistle from Usbeck the Persian to Joshua Ward, Esq." The essay, besides its sarcastic remarks on quacks and quackery, contains many allusions to the neglect of medical education among the practising apothecaries; but the author had exhausted his wit in it, and the dialogue and epistle are consequently flat and insipid. In 1737, he published a serious professional piece, styled, "A Synopsis of the History and Cure of the Venereal Disease," 8vo., inscribed in an ingenious dedication to Dr Alexander Stuart, as to "a person who had an indisputable right to judge severely of the performance presented to him." He probably designed the work as an introduction to practice in this branch of the medical profession; but it was unfortunately followed by his poem, entitled, "The Economy of Love," which, though said to have been designed as merely a burlesque upon certain didactic writers, was justly condemned for its warm and alluring pictures, and its tendency to inflame the passions of youth. It appears by one of the "Cases of Literary Property," that Andrew Millar, the bookseller, paid fifty pounds for the copy-right of this poem; a sum ill-gained, for the work greatly diminished the reputation of the author. After it had passed through many editions, he published one, in 1768, in which the youthful luxuriances that had given offence to better minds were carefully pruned.

In 1744, Dr Armstrong made some amends for this indiscretion, by publishing "The Art of Preserving Health," a didactic poem in blank verse, extending through four books, each of which contains a particular branch of the subject. This very meritorious work raised his reputation to a height which his subsequent efforts scarcely sustained. It is written in a taste which would not now be considered very pure, or elegant; but yet, when the subject and the age are considered, there is amazingly little to be condemned. Dr Warton has justly remarked the refined terms in which the poet, at the end of his third book, has described an English plague of the fifteenth century, entitled, "The Sweating Sickness." "There is a classical correctness and closeness of style in this poem," says Dr Warton, "that are truly admirable, and the subject is raised and adorned by numberless poetical images." Dr Mackenzie, in his *History of Health*, be-

stowed similar praises on this poem, which was indeed every where read and admired.

In 1741, Armstrong solicited the patronage of Dr Birch, to be appointed physician to the fleet, then about to sail for the West Indies; but he does not seem to have obtained the object of his desire. In 1746, when established in reputation by his *Art of Preserving Health*, he was appointed one of the physicians to the hospital for lame and sick soldiers behind Buckingham house. In 1751, he published his poem on "Benevolence," in folio, a production which seems to have come from the heart, and contains sentiments which could have been expressed with equal ardour only by one who felt them. His "Taste, an epistle to a young critic," 1753, 4to, is a lively and spirited imitation of Pope, and the first production in which Armstrong began to view men and manners with a splenetic eye.

His next work was less meritorious. It was entitled "*Sketches or Essays on various subjects*," and appeared under the fictitious name of Lancelot Temple, Esq. The critical examiners of Dr Armstrong's merits allow to this work the credit of exhibiting much humour and knowledge of the world, but find it deformed by a perpetual flow of affectation, a struggle to say smart things, and, above all, a disgusting repetition of vulgar oaths and exclamations—forms of expression to which the poet, it seems, was also much addicted in conversation. In some of these sketches, Armstrong is said to have had assistance from the notorious John Wilkes, with whom he lived in habits of intimacy; but it is certain that the contributions of this gentleman cannot have been great, as the work is much inferior to the literary style of the demagogue of Aylesbury, who, whatever might be his moral failings, is allowed to have had a chaste classical taste, and a pure vein of humour.

Armstrong had sufficient professional interest in 1760, to obtain the appointment of physician to the army in Germany. From that country he wrote "Day, a poem," addressed as an Epistle to John Wilkes, Esq. This lively piece, which professes to embody an account of all the proper indulgences, moral and physical, of twenty-four hours, was, it is said, published in an imperfect shape, by some clandestine editor. It was never added to the collected works of Dr Armstrong, till Dr Anderson admitted it into his edition of the *British Poets*. After the peace of 1763, Dr Armstrong returned to London, and resumed his practice, but with no eager desire of increasing the moderate competency he now enjoyed. He continued after this period rather to amuse than to exert himself in literary productions, chiefly spending his time in the society of men of wit and taste like himself. In 1771, he made a tour into France and Italy, in company with the celebrated Fuseli, who survived him for nearly fifty years, and always spoke highly of Dr Armstrong's amiable character. In Italy he took a tender farewell of his friend Smollett, to whom he was much attached, and who died soon after. On returning home, he published an account of his travels, under the name of Lancelot Temple.

The latter years of Dr Armstrong's life were embittered by one of those quarrels which, arising between persons formerly much attached, are at once the most envenomed, and the most productive of uneasiness to the parties. In his poem of *Day*, he had asked, among other things,

"What crazy scribbler reigns the present wit?"

which the poet Churchill very properly took to himself, and resented in the following passage in his poem of "*The Journey*:"

Let them with Armstrong, taking leave of sense,
Read musty lectures on Benevolence;

Or con the pages of his gaping Day,¹
 Where all his former fame was thrown away,
 Where all but barren labour was forgot,
 And the vain stiffness of a lettered Scot;
 Let them with Armstrong pass the term of light,
 But not one hour of darkness; when the night
 Suspends this mortal coil, when memory wakes,
 When for our past misdoings conscience takes
 A deep revenge, when by reflection led
 She draws his curtains, and looks comfort dead,
 Let every muse be gone; in vain he turns,
 And tries to pray for sleep; an *Ætna* burns,
 A more than *Ætna* in his coward breast,
 And guilt, with vengeance armed, forbids to rest;
 Though soft as plumage from young Zephyr's wing
 His couch seems hard, and no relief can bring;
 Ingratitude hath planted daggers there,
 No good man can deserve, no brave man bear.

We have no hesitation in saying that this severe satire was not justified either by the offence which called it forth, or by the circumstances on which it was founded. Wilkes, the associate of Churchill, had lent money to Armstrong on some occasion of peculiar distress. When the attacks of Wilkes upon Scotland led to animosities between the two friends, it was not to be expected that the recollection of a former obligation was necessarily to tie up the natural feelings of Dr Armstrong, and induce him to submit rather to the certain charge of meanness of spirit, than the possible imputation of ingratitude. Neither could Wilkes have fairly expected that the natural course of the quarrel was to be stayed by such a submission on the part of his former friend. It would have been equally mean for the obliged party to have tendered, and for the obliging party to have accepted such a submission. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Dr Armstrong, in giving way to resentment against Wilkes, was chargeable, properly, with no blame except that of giving way to resentment; and if it is to be supposed, from the character of the poet in respect of irritability, that the resentment would have taken place whether there had been a debt of kindness standing undischarged between the parties or not, we cannot really see how this contingent circumstance can enhance his offence.

There is unfortunately too great reason to suppose, that, if the obligation tended to increase the blame of either party, it was that of Wilkes, who, from almost incontestable evidence, appears to have made a most ungenerous use of the advantage he had acquired over his former friend. Not only must he bear a portion of the guilt of Churchill's satire, which could have only been written as a transcript of his feelings, and with his sanction, but he stands almost certainly guilty of a still more direct and scurrilous attack upon Dr Armstrong, which appeared in a much more insidious form. This was a series of articles in the well known Public Advertiser, commencing with a letter signed *Dies*, which appeared to proceed from an enemy of the patriot, but, in the opinion of Dr Armstrong, was written by the patriot himself:

"He [Wilkes]," says this writer, "always took more delight in exposing his friends than in hurting his enemies. I am assured that a very worthy and ingenious friend of this impostor trusted him with a *jeu d'esprit* of a poem, incorrect indeed, but which bore every mark of a true, though ungoverned genius. This poem, rough as it was, he carried to A. Millar, late bookseller in the Strand,

¹ This poem was full of large hiatus supplied by asterisks.

and published it in his friend's name, without his knowledge. This is a fact, Mr Printer; therefore, I think, Mr W. should let alone Scotch writers."

Occasion was taken in the next day's publication to give a refutation of this pretended attack, in the following terms:

"Your correspondent, Sir, is pleased to appeal to a dead bookseller, I appeal to the living author, now in London. He desired the poem might be published: it was written for the public eye: he directed the bookseller to call on Mr W. for the copy. The bookseller produced his credentials, under the author's own hand, upon which Mr W. gave him the manuscript of the poem. It was afterwards published in the kindest way for the author's reputation, as a *Fragment*. I believe he will not choose to restore the passages, which were omitted in the first edition of 1760. When he does, the kindness, and perhaps the judgment of the editor will appear, I am told, in a very strong and favourable light. The poem was not published till the bookseller had received a second positive order for that purpose, from the author, after several objections to the publication had been transmitted to him in Germany, and amendments made by himself. It was a favourite child not without merit, although scarcely so much as the fond father imagined. Mr Churchill wrote the four following lines on that poem, which were never forgiven. They are in the *Journey*.

'Or con the pages of his gaping *Day*,
Where all his former fame was thrown away,
Where all but barren labour was forgot,
And the vain stiffness of a letter'd Scot.'

TRUTH."

A week after, a letter signed "Nox," in the same tone with that signed "TAUTU," appeared in the Public Advertiser. It is impossible to doubt that Mr Wilkes was at the bottom of the whole plot, and either wrote the letters himself or employed his friend Churchill to do so.*

* This more particularly appears from the report of a conversation which took place on the 7th of April, between Dr Armstrong and Mr Wilkes, which appears to have been noted down on the same day by the latter, and was published in the Gentleman's Magazine, for 1792, thirteen years after the death of Dr Armstrong.

The incensed poet entered his former friend's lodgings, in Prince's Court, and, without the least ceremonial or compliment, commenced the following dialogue—which, as a curious piece of literary history, we have given entire:—

Dr Armstrong. Did you, Sir, write the letters in the Public Advertiser?

Mr Wilkes. What letters do you mean, Doctor? There are many letters almost every day in the Public Advertiser.

Dr A. Sir, I mean the three letters about me, and *Day*, *Day*, Sir.

Mr W. You may ask the printer, Mr Woodfall. He has my orders to name me whenever he thinks it proper, as the author of every thing I write in his paper.

Dr A. I believe you wrote all those letters.

Mr W. What all three, Doctor? I am very roughly treated in one of them, in the first signed *Dies*.

Dr A. I believe you wrote that to bring on the controversy. I am almost sure of it.

Mr W. I hope you are truly informed in other things. I know better than to abuse myself in that manner, and I pity the author of such wretched stuff.

Dr A. Did you write the other letters, Sir?

Mr W. The proper person to inquire of, is Mr Woodfall. I will not answer *interrogatories*. My time would pass in a strange manner, if I was to answer every question which any gentleman chose to put to me about anonymous letters.

Dr A. Whoever has abused me, Sir, is a villain; and your endeavours, Sir, to set Scotland and England together are very bad.

Mr W. The Scots have done that thoroughly, Doctor, by their conduct here, particularly by their own nationality and the outrages of Lord Bute to so many English families. Whenever you think proper to call upon me in particular as a gentleman, you will find me most ready to answer the call.

Dr A. D——n Lord Bute! It had been better for Scotland he had never been born. He has done us infinite mischief.

Mr W. And us too; but I suppose we are not met for a dish of politics?

Dr A. No; but I wish there had been no union. I am sure England is the gainer by it.

Mr W. I will not make an essay on the advantages and disadvantages of the union.

Armstrong died at his house in Russel Street, Covent Garden, September 7, 1779, in consequence of an accidental contusion in his thigh, received while getting into a carriage. He was found, to the surprise of the world, to have saved the sum of £2000 out of his moderate income, which for many years had consisted of nothing more than his half-pay.

Dr Armstrong was much beloved and respected by his friends for his gentle and amiable dispositions, as well as his extensive knowledge and abilities; but a kind of morbid sensibility preyed upon his temper, and a languid listlessness too frequently interrupted his intellectual efforts. With Thomson's *Castle of*

Dr A. I hate politics; but I have been ill used by you, Dr Wilkes, on the occasion.

Mr W. On the contrary, Doctor, I was the injured friend.

Dr A. I thought you for many years the most amiable friend in the world, and loved your company the most; but you distinguished yourself by grossly abusing my country men in the North Briton—although I never read much of that paper.

Mr W. You passed your time, I am satisfied, much better. Who told you, Doctor, what particular numbers I wrote? It is droll, but the bitterest of these papers, which was attributed to me, was a description of Scotland, first printed in the last century, on Charles I.'s return from thence in 1633. Were you ever, Doctor, personally attacked by me? Were you not, although a Scotsman, at the very time of the North Briton, complimented by me, in conjunction with Churchill, in the best thing I wrote, the mock 'Dedication to Mortimer'?

Dr A. To be praised along with such a writer, I think an abuse.

Mr W. The world thinks far otherwise of that wonderful genius Churchill; but you, Doctor, have sacrificed private friendship at the altar of politics. After many years of mutual intercourse of good offices, you broke every tie of friendship with me on no pretence but a suspicion, for you did not ask for proof, of my having abused your country, *that country* I have for years together heard you inveigh against, in the bitterest terms, for *nastiness and nationality*.

Dr A. I only did it in joke, Sir; you did it with bitterness; but it was *my country*.

Mr W. No man has abused England so much as Shakspeare, or France so much as Voltaire; yet they remain the favourites of two great nations, conscious of their own superiority. Were you, Doctor, attacked by me in any one instance? Was not the most friendly correspondence carried on with you the whole time, till you broke it off by a letter, in 1763, in which you declared to me, that you could not with honour associate with one who had distinguished himself by abusing your country, and that you remained *with all due sincerity*? I remember *that* was the strange phrase.

Dr A. You never answered that letter, Sir.

Mr W. What answer could I give you, Doctor? You had put a period to the intercourse between us. I still continued to our common friends to speak of you in terms of respect, while you were grossly abusing me. You said to Boswell, Millar, and others, "I hope there is a hell, that Wilkes may lie in it."

Dr A. In a passion I might say so. People do not often speak their minds in a passion.

Mr W. I thought they generally did, Doctor!

Dr A. I was thoroughly provoked, although I still acknowledge my great pecuniary obligations to you—although, I dare say, I would have got the money elsewhere.

Mr W. I was always happy to render you every service in my power; and I little imagined a liberal mind, like yours, could have been worked up by designing men to write me such a letter in answer to an affectionate one I sent you, in the prospect of your return.

Dr A. I was happier with you than any man in the world for a great many years, and complimented you not a little in the *Day*, and you did not write to me for a year and a half after that.

Mr W. Your memory does not serve you faithfully, Doctor. In three or four months at farthest, you had two or three letters from me together, on your return to the headquarters of the army. I am abused in *Dies* for that publication, and the manner, both of which you approved.

Dr A. I did so.

Mr W. I was abused at first, I am told, in the manuscript of *Dies*, for having sold the copy, and put the money in my pocket; but that charge was suppressed in the printed letter.

Dr A. I know nothing of that, and will do you justice.

Mr W. Will you call upon Mr D—, our common friend, your countryman, and ask him what he thinks of your conduct to me, if it has not been wholly unjustifiable?

Dr A. Have I your leave to ask Mr Woodfall in your name about the letters?

Mr W. I have already told you, Doctor, what directions he has from me. Take four-and-twenty hours to consider what you have to do, and let me know the result.

Dr A. I am sorry to have taken up so much of your time, Sir.

Mr W. It stands in no need of an apology, Doctor. I am glad to see you. Good morning.

N.B.—These minutes were taken down the same afternoon, and sent to a friend.

Indolence he is appropriately connected, both as a figure in the piece and as a contributor to the verse. The following is his portraiture :—

With him was sometimes joined in silent walk,
 (Profoundly silent—for they never spoke)
 One shyer still, who quite detested talk;
 Oft stung by spleen, at once away he broke,
 To groves of pine, and broad o'ershadowing oak,
 There, inly thrilled, he wandered all alone,
 And on himself his pensive fury wroke :
 He never uttered word, save, when first shone
 The glittering star of eve—"Thank heaven ! the day is done !"

His contributions consist of four stanzas descriptive of the diseases to which the votaries of indolence finally become martyrs.

The rank of Dr Armstrong as a poet is fixed by his *Art of Preserving Health*, which is allowed to be among the best didactic poems in the language. It is true, this species of poetry was never considered among the highest, nor has it been able to retain its place among the tastes of a modern and more refined age. Armstrong, however, in having improved upon a mode of composition fashionable in his own time, must still be allowed considerable praise. "His style," according to the judgment of Dr Aikin, "is distinguished by its simplicity—by a free use of words which owe their strength to their plainness—by the rejection of ambitious ornaments, and a near approach to common phraseology. His sentences are generally short and easy; his sense clear and obvious. The full extent of his conceptions is taken in at the first glance; and there are no lofty mysteries to be unravelled by a repeated perusal. What keeps his language from being prosaic, is the vigour of his sentiments. He thinks boldly, feels strongly, and therefore expresses himself poetically. When the subject sinks, his style sinks with it; but he has for the most part excluded topics incapable either of vivid description, or of the oratory of sentiment. He had from nature a musical ear, whence his lines are scarcely ever harsh, though apparently without much study to render them smooth. On the whole, it may not be too much to assert, that no writer in blank verse can be found more free from stiffness and affectation, more energetic without harshness, and more dignified without formality."

ARNOT, Hugo, a historical and antiquarian writer of the eighteenth century, was the son of a merchant and ship-proprietor at Leith, where he was born, December 8th, 1749. His name originally was Pollock, which he changed in early life for Arnot, on falling heir, through his mother, to the estate of Balcormo in Fife. As "Hugo Arnot of Balcormo, Esq.," he is entered as a member of the Faculty of Advocates, December 5, 1772, when just about to complete his twenty-third year. Previous to this period, he had had the misfortune to lose his father. Another evil which befell him in early life was a settled asthma, the result of a severe cold which he caught in his fifteenth year. As this disorder was always aggravated by exertion of any kind, it became a serious obstruction to his progress at the bar: some of his pleadings, nevertheless, were much admired, and obtained for him the applause of the bench. Perhaps it was this interruption of his professional career which caused him to turn his attention to literature. In 1779, appeared his "*History of Edinburgh*," 1 vol., 4to. a work of much research, and greatly superior in a literary point of view to the generality of local works. The style of the historical part is elegant and epigrammatic, with a vein of causticity highly characteristic of the author. From this elaborate work the author is said to have only realized a few pounds of profit; a piratical impression, at less than half the price, was published almost simul-

taneously at Dublin, and, being shipped over to Scotland in great quantities, completely threw the author's edition out of the market. *A bookseller's second edition*, as it is called, appeared after the author's death, being simply the remainder of the former stock, embellished with plates, and enlarged by some additions from the pen of the publisher, Mr Creech. Another edition was published in 8vo, in 1817. Mr Arnot seems to have now lived on terms of literary equality with those distinguished literary and professional characters who were his fellow-townsmen and contemporaries. He did not, however, for some years publish any other considerable or acknowledged work. He devoted his mind chiefly to local subjects, and sent forth numerous pamphlets and newspaper essays, which had a considerable effect in accelerating or promoting the erection of various public works. The exertions of a man of his public spirit and enlarged mind, at a time when the capital of Scotland was undergoing such a thorough renovation and improvement, must have been of material service to the community, both of that and of all succeeding ages. Such they were acknowledged to be by the magistrates, who bestowed upon him the freedom of the city. We are told that Mr Arnot, by means of his influence in local matters, was able to retard the erection of the *South Bridge of Edinburgh* for ten years—not that he objected to such an obvious improvement on its own account, but only in so far as the magistrates could devise no other method for defraying the expense than by a tax upon carters; a mode of liquidating it, which Mr Arnot thought grossly oppressive, as it fell in the first place upon the poor. He also was the means of preventing for several years the formation of the present splendid road between Edinburgh and Leith, on account of the proposed plan (which was afterwards unhappily carried into effect,) of defraying the expense by a toll; being convinced, from what he knew of local authorities, that, if such an exaction were once established, it would always, on some pretext or other, be kept up. In 1785, Mr Arnot published "*A Collection of Celebrated Criminal Trials in Scotland, with Historical and Critical Remarks*," 1 vol. 4to.; a work of perhaps even greater research than his history of Edinburgh, and written in the same acutely metaphysical and epigrammatic style. In the front of this volume appears a large list of subscribers, embracing almost all the eminent and considerable persons in Scotland, with many of those in England, and testifying of course to the literary and personal respectability of Mr Arnot. This work appeared without a publisher's name, probably for some reason connected with the following circumstance. Owing perhaps to the unwillingness of the author to allow a sufficient profit to the booksellers, the whole body of that trade in Edinburgh refused to let the subscription papers and prospectuses hang in their shops; for which reason the author announced, by means of an advertisement in the newspapers, that these articles might be seen in the coffee-houses. Mr Arnot received the sum of six hundred pounds for the copies sold of this work, from which he would have to pay the expenses of printing a thin quarto: it thus happened that what was rather the least laborious of his two works, was the most profitable. Mr Arnot only survived the publication of his *Criminal Trials* about a twelvemonth. The asthma had ever since his fifteenth year been making rapid advances upon him, and his person was now reduced almost to a shadow. While still young, he carried all the marks of age, and accordingly the traditionary recollections of the historian of Edinburgh always point to a man in the extreme of life. Perhaps nothing could indicate more expressively the miserable state to which Mr Arnot was reduced by this disease, than his own half-ludicrous, half-pathetic exclamation, on being annoyed by the bawling of a man selling sand on the streets: "The rascal!" cried the unfortunate invalid, "he spends as much breath in a minute as would serve me for a month!" Among the portraits and

caricatures of the well known John Kay, may be found several faithful, though somewhat exaggerated, memorials of the emaciated person of Hugo Arnot. As a natural constitutional result of this disease, he was exceedingly *nervous*, and liable to be discomposed by the slightest annoyances: on the other hand, he possessed such ardour and intrepidity of mind, that in youth he once rode on a spirited horse to the end of the pier of Leith, while the waves were dashing over it and every beholder expected to see him washed immediately into the sea! On another occasion, having excited some hostility by a political pamphlet, and being summoned by an anonymous foe to appear at a particular hour in a lonely part of the King's Park, in order to fight, he went and waited four hours on the spot, thus perilling his life in what might have been the ambush of a deadly enemy. By means of the same fortitude of character, he beheld the gradual approach of death with all the calmness of a Stoic philosopher. The magistrates of Leith had acknowledged some of his public services, by the ominous compliment of a piece of ground in their church-yard; and it was the recreation of the last weeks of Mr Arnot's life to go every day to observe the progress made by the workmen in preparing this place for his own reception. It is related that he even expressed considerable anxiety lest his demise should take place before the melancholy work should be completed. He died, November 20th, 1786, when on the point of completing his 37th year; that age so fatal to men of genius that it may almost be styled their climacteric. He was interred in the tomb fitted up by himself at South Leith. Besides his historical and local works, he had published, in 1777, a fanciful metaphysical treatise, entitled, "Nothing," which was originally a paper read before a well-known debating-club styled the Speculative Society; being probably suggested to him by the poem of the Earl of Rochester on the equally impalpable subject of *Silence*. If any disagreeable reflection can rest on Mr Arnot's memory for the free scope he has given to his mind in this little essay—a freedom sanctioned, if not excused, by the taste of the age—he must be held to have made all the amends in his power by the propriety of his deportment in later life; when he entered heartily and regularly into the observances of the Scottish episcopal communion, to which he originally belonged. If Mr Arnot was any thing decidedly in politics, he was a Jacobite, to which party he belonged by descent and by religion, and also perhaps by virtue of his own peculiar turn of mind. In modern politics, he was quite independent, judging all men and all measures by no other standard than their respective merits. In his professional character, he was animated by a chivalrous sentiment of honour worthy of all admiration. He was so little of a casuist, that he would never undertake a case, unless he were perfectly self-satisfied as to its justice and legality. He had often occasion to refuse employment which fell beneath his own standard of honesty, though it might have been profitable, and attended by not the slightest shade of disgrace. On a case being once brought before him, of the merits of which he had an exceedingly bad opinion, he said to the intending litigant, in a serious manner, "Pray, what do you suppose me to be?" "Why," answered the client, "I understand you to be a lawyer." "I thought, Sir," said Arnot sternly, "you took me for a scoundrel." The litigant, though he perhaps thought that the major included the minor proposition, withdrew abashed. Mr Arnot left eight children, all very young; and the talent of the family appears to have revived in a new generation, viz., in the person of his grandson, Dr David Boswell Reid, whose "*Elements of Chemistry*" has taken its place amongst the most useful treatises on the science, and who was selected by Government, on account of his practical skill, to plan and superintend the ventilation of the new houses of parliament, in the prosecution of which object he has for several years been conducting the most costly and prolonged, if not the most successful, experiment of the kind ever made.

AYTON, (SIR) ROBERT, an eminent poet at the court of James VI., was a younger son of Andrew Ayton of Kinaldie, in Fife, and was born in the year 1570. From the Registers of St Andrews University, it appears that he was incorporated or enrolled as a student in St Leonard's College, December 3, 1584, and took his master's degree, after the usual course of study, in the year 1588. Subsequently to this, he resided for some time in France; whence, in 1603, he addressed an elegant panegyric in Latin verse, to king James, on his accession to the crown of England, which was printed at Paris the same year; and this panegyric had, no doubt, some influence in securing to the author the favour of that monarch, by whom he was successively appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and private secretary to his queen, Anne of Denmark, besides receiving the honour of knighthood. He was, at a later period of his life, honoured with the appointment of secretary to Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I. It is recorded on Ayton's funeral monument, as a distinction, that he had been sent to Germany as ambassador to the Emperor, with a work published by king James, which is supposed to have been his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance. If this conjecture be correct, it must have been in 1609, when his majesty acknowledged a work published anonymously three years before, and inscribed it to all the crowned heads of Europe. During Ayton's residence abroad, as well as at the court of England, he lived in intimacy with, and secured the esteem of the most eminent persons of his time. "He was acquainted," says Aubrey, "with all the wits of his time in England; he was a great acquaintance of Mr Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, whom Mr Hobbes told me he made use of, together with Ben Jonson, for an Aristarchus, when he made his Epistle dedicatory, for his translation of Thucydides." To this information, we may add, as a proof of this respect on the part of Ben Jonson, that, in his conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, he said, "Sir Robert Ayton loved him (Jonson) dearly."

Sir Robert Ayton died at London, in March, 1637-8, in the 68th year of his age. He lies buried in the south aisle of the choir of Westminster Abbey, at the corner of King Henry the Fifth's Chapel, under a handsome monument of black marble, erected by his nephew, David Ayton of Kinaldie; having his bust in brass gilt, which has been preserved, while that of Henry, the hero of Agincourt, (said to have been of a more precious metal,) has long since disappeared. The following is a copy of the inscription:

M. S.

Clarissimi omnigenaq. virtute et eruditione, præsertim Poesi ornatissimi equitis, Domini Roberti Aitoni, ex antiqua et illustri gente Aitona, ad Castrum Kinnadinum apud Scotos, oriundi, qui a Serenissimo R. Jacobo in Cubicula Interiora admissus, in Germaniam ad Imperatorem, Imperiq. Principes cum libello Regiæ auctoritatis vindice, Legatus, ac primum Annæ, demum Mariæ, serenissimis Britanniarum Reginis ab epistolis, consiliis et libellis supplicibus, nec non Xenodochio S^m Catharinæ præfectus. Anima Creatoris Reddita, hic depositis mortalibus exuviis secundum Redemptoris adventum expectat.

Carolus linquens, repetit Parentem

Et valedicens Mariæ revisit

Annam et Aulæ decus, alto Olympi

Mutat Honore.

Hoc devoti gratiq. animi

Testimonium optimo Patruo

Jo. Aitonius M L P.

Obiit Celebs in Regio Albula

Non sine maximo Honore omnium

Luctu et Mœrore, Ætat. suæ LXVIII.

Salut. Humanæ M.DCXXXVIII.

MUSARUM DECUS HIC, PATRIARQ. AULARQ. DOMIQUE

ET FORIS EXEMPLAR SED NON IMITABILE MONEST.

The poems of Sir Robert Ayton, for the first time published together in the Miscelany of the Bannatyne Club, (from which we derive these particulars of the poet's life,) are few in number, but of great merit. He composed no Scottish poems, at least none that have come down to our times. He wrote in English, and was, indeed, one of the first of our countrymen who composed in that language with any degree of elegance or purity. It is unfortunate that the most of his poems are complimentary verses to the illustrious individuals with whom he was acquainted, and of course characterized only by a strain of conceited and extravagant flattery. Those, however, upon general topics, are conceived in a refined and tender strain of fancy, that reminds us more of the fairy strains of Herrick than any thing else. John Aubrey remarks, "that Sir Robert was one of the best poets of his time," and adds the more important testimony that "Mr John Dryden has seen verses of his, *some of the best of that age*, printed with some other verses." According to Dempster, Ayton was also a writer of verses in Greek and French, as well as in English and Latin. Several of his Latin poems are preserved in the work called, "*Delitizæ Poetarum Scotorum*," which was printed in his lifetime (1637) at Amsterdam.

One poem by Ayton, entitled, "Inconstancy Reproved," and commencing with the words, "I do confess thou'rt smooth and fair," was esteemed by Burns worthy of being paraphrased into the native dialect of the author; a process certainly of a very curious nature, as it might have rather been expected that the poet of the eighteenth should have *refined* upon the poet of the seventeenth century. It may be safely avowed that the modern poet has not improved upon his predecessor. Perhaps the reader will be less familiar with the following equally beautiful poems by Sir Robert Ayton, than with "Inconstancy Reproved,"—which, after all, is not ascertained to be his.

SONG.

What means this strangeness now of late,
Since time must truth approve?
This distance may consist with state—
It cannot stand with love.

'Tis either cunning or distrust,
That may such ways allow;
The first is base, the last unjust;
Let neither blemish you.

For if you mean to draw me on,
There needs not half this art;
And if you mean to have me gone,
You overact your part.

If kindness crosses your wished content,
Dismiss me with a frown,
I'll give you all the love that's spent,
The rest shall be my own.

ON WOMAN'S INCONSTANCY.

I loved thee once, I'll love no more,
Thine be the grief as is the blame;
Thou art not what thou wast before,
What reason I should be the same!
He that can love unloved again,
Hath better store of love than brain:
God send me love my debts to pay,
While unthrifths fool their love away.

Nothing could have my love o'erthrown,
 If thou hadst still continued mine :
 Yea, if thou hadst remain'd thy own,
 I might perchance have yet been thine.
 But thou thy freedom did recall,
 That if thou might elsewhere enthral ;
 And then how could I but disdain
 A captive's captive to remain ?

When new desires had conquered thee,
 And changed the object of thy will,
 It had been lethargy in me,
 Not constancy to love thee still.
 Yea, it had been a sin to go
 And prostitute affection so
 Since we are taught no prayers to say
 To such as must to others pray.

Yet do thou glory in thy choice,
 Thy choice of his good fortune boast ;
 I'll neither grieve nor yet rejoice,
 To see him gain what I have lost :
 The height of my disdain shall be,
 To laugh at him, to blush for thee ;
 To love thee still, but go no more,
 A begging to a beggar's door.

THE ANSWER,

BY THE AUTHOR, AT THE KING'S MAJESTY'S COMMAND.

Thou that loved once, now loves no more,
 For fear to show more love than brain ;
 With heresy unhatch'd before,
 A postasy thou dost maintain.
 Can he have either brain or love
 That dost inconstancy approve ?
 A choice well made no change admits,
 All changes argue after-wits.

Say that she had not been the same,
 Should thou therefore another be ?
 What thou in her as vice did blame,
 Can thou take virtue's name in thee ?
 No, thou in this her captive was,
 And made thee ready by her glass ;
 Example led revenge astray,
 When true love should have kept the way.

True love has no reflecting end,
 The object good sets it at rest,
 And noble breasts will freely lend,
 Without expecting interest.
 'Tis merchants' love, 'tis trade for gain,
 To barter love for love again :
 'Tis usury, yea, worse than this,
 For self-idolatry it is.

Then let her choice be what it will,
 Let constancy be thy revenge ;
 If thou retribute good for ill,
 Both grief and shame shall check her change.

Thus may'st thou laugh when thou shall see
 Remorse reclaim her home to thee;
 And where thou begg'st of her before,
 She now sits begging at thy door.

We submit that such elegant sentiments as these, expressed in such elegant language, are an honour to their author, to his age, and country.

B

BAILLIE, ROBERT, one of the most eminent, and perhaps the most moderate, of all the Scottish presbyterian clergy during the time of the civil war, was born at Glasgow, in 1599. His father, Thomas Baillie, citizen, was descended from the Baillies of Lamington; his mother, Helen Gibson, was of the family of Gibson of Durie; both of which stocks are distinguished in presbyterian history. Having studied divinity in his native university, Mr Baillie, in 1622, received episcopal orders from Archbishop Law, of Glasgow, and became tutor to the son of the Earl of Eglintoun, by whom he was presented to the parish church of Kilwinning. In 1626 he was admitted a regent at the college of Glasgow, and, on taking his chair, delivered an inaugural oration, *De Mente Agente*. About this period he appears to have prosecuted the study of the oriental languages, in which he is allowed to have attained no mean proficiency. For some years he lived in terms of the strictest intimacy with the noble and pious family of Eglintoun, as also with his ordinary, Archbishop Law, with whom he kept up an epistolary correspondence. Baillie was not only educated and ordained as an episcopalian, but he had imbibed from principal Cameron of Glasgow, the doctrine of passive resistance. He appears, however, to have been brought over to opposite views during the interval between 1630 and 1636, which he employed in discussing with his fellow-clergymen the doctrines of Arminianism, and the new ecclesiastical regulations introduced into the Scottish church by Archbishop Laud. Hence, in the year 1636, being desired by Archbishop Law to preach at Edinburgh in favour of the Canon and Service-books, he positively refused; writing, however, a respectful apology to his lordship. Endeared to the resisting party by this conduct, he was chosen to represent the presbytery of Irvine in the General Assembly of 1638, by which the royal power was braved in the name of the whole nation, and episcopacy formally dissolved. In this meeting, Baillie is said to have behaved with great moderation; a term, however, which must be understood as only comparative, for the expressions used in his letter regarding the matters condemned, are not what would now be considered moderate. In the ensuing year, when it was found necessary to vindicate the proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly with the sword, Baillie entered heartily into the views of his countrymen. He accompanied the army to Dunse Law, in the capacity of preacher to the Earl of Eglintoun's regiment; and he it was, who has handed down the well known description of that extraordinary camp.—“It would have done you good,” he remarks in one of his letters, “to have cast your eyes athort our brave and rich hills, as oft as I did, with great contentment and joy; for I was there among the rest, being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with Lord Eglintoun. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows, muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broad sword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword, and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but I promise, for the offence of no man, except a robber in the way; for it was our part alone to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did to my power most cheerfully.” (*Letters*, vol. i. p. 174.) He afterwards states, “Our soldiers grew in experience of arms, in courage, and favour, daily.

Every one encouraged another. The sight of their nobles, and their beloved pastors, daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and evening, under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remembrance very frequent of the goodness of their cause; of their conduct hitherto, by a hand clearly divine; also Leslie's skill, and prudence, and fortune, made them as resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, when they should be met in the field; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been great Solymán.—Had you lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading Scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters, whereat we were grieved; but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these disorders; for all of any fashion did regret, and all promised to do their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all that time since I came from home, till my head was again homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return." This expedition ended in a treaty between the Scottish leaders and their sovereign, in terms of which hostilities ceased for a few months. On the renewal of the insurrectionary war next year, Baillie accompanied the Scottish army on its march into England, and became the chronicler of its transactions. Towards the end of the year 1640, he was selected by the Scottish leaders as a proper person to go to London, along with other commissioners, to prepare charges against Archbishop Laud, for his innovations upon the Scottish church, which were alleged to have been the origin of the war. He had, in April, before the expedition, published a pamphlet, entitled, "*Laden-sium Αυτοκατακρισις* : the *Canterburian's Self-conviction*; or an Evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianisme, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their own confessions," which perhaps pointed him out as fit to take a lead in the prosecution of the great Antichrist of Scottish presbytery. Of this and almost all the other proceedings of his public life, he has left a minute account in his letters and journals, which are preserved entire in the archives of the church of Scotland, and in the university of Glasgow, and of which excerpts were published in 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1775. These reliques of Mr Baillie form valuable materials of history. Not long after his return to his native country, in 1642, he was appointed joint professor of divinity at Glasgow, along with Mr David Dickson, an equally distinguished, but less moderate divine. It affords some proof of the estimation in which he was now held, that he had the choice of this appointment in all the four universities of Scotland. He performed his duties from this period till the restoration, and at the same time attended all the General Assemblies as a member, except during an interval in 1643-6, when he was absent as a delegate to the Westminster assembly of divines. In this latter capacity, he conducted himself in an unobtrusive manner, but fully concurred in the principles and views of the more prominent men. It is observable from his letters, that, with the pardonable earnestness of his age and party, he looked upon toleration as a thing fatal to religion, and strenuously asserted the divine right of the presbyterian church to be established in complete ascendancy and power as a substitute for the church of England. From 1646 to 1649, he discharged his ordinary duties as a theological teacher, without taking a leading part in public affairs. But in the latter year, he was chosen by the church, as the fittest person to carry its homage to king Charles II. at the Hague, and to invite

that youthful monarch to assume the government in Scotland, under the limitations and stipulations of the covenant. This duty he executed with a degree of dignity and propriety, which could have been expected from no member of his church, but one, who, like him had spent several years in conducting high diplomatic affairs in England. Indeed, Mr Baillie appears in every transaction of his life, to have been an accomplished man of the world; and yet retaining, along with habits of expediency, the most perfect sincerity in his religious views. When the necessary introduction of the malignants into the king's service, caused a strong division in the church, in 1651, Baillie, as might have been expected from his character and former history, sided with the yielding or Resolutionist party, and soon became its principal leader. On this account he, and many other sincere men, were charged by the Protesting and less worldly party, with a declension from the high principles of the covenant; a charge to which he, at least, certainly was not liable. After the Restoration, though made Principal of his college through court patronage, he scrupulously refused to accept a bishopric, and did not hesitate to express his dissatisfaction with the re-introduction of episcopacy. His health now declining, he was visited by the new-made archbishop, to whom he thus freely expressed himself: "Mr Andrew," said he, "I will not now call you my lord. King Charles would have made me one of these lords; but I do not find in the New Testament that Christ has any lords in his house." He considered this form of religion and ecclesiastical government as "inconsistent with Scripture, contrary to pure and primitive antiquity, and diametrically opposed to the true interest of the country." He died, July, 1669, in the 63d year of his age.

Mr Baillie, besides his *Letters and Journals*, and a variety of controversial pamphlets, suitable to the spirit of the times, was the author of a respectable and learned work, entitled, "*Opus Historicum et Chronologicum*," which was published in folio at Amsterdam. He was a man of extensive learning—understood no fewer than thirteen languages, among which were Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Arabic, and Ethiopic,—and wrote Latin with almost Augustan elegance. He left a large family: one of his daughters, becoming the wife of Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, was, by a strange chance, the ancestress of Miss Clementina Walkinshaw, well known from her connexion with the history of Prince Charles Stuart—and also grandmother to the celebrated Henry Home, better known under the judicial designation of Lord Kames.

BAILLIE, ROBERT, of Jerviswood, an eminent patriot of the reign of Charles II., was the son of George Baillie of St John's kirk in Lanarkshire, cadet of the ancient family of Baillie of Lamington, who appears to have purchased the estate of Jerviswood, also in Lanarkshire, in the reign of Charles I., from a family of the name of Livingstone. It is stated by the Jacobite, Robert Mylne, in the publication called "*Fountainhall's Notes*," that the first circumstance which alienated the mind of Robert Baillie from the government, was his marrying a daughter of Sir Archibald Johnston of Warristoun, who, having borne a conspicuous part in the civil war from its beginning, was executed after the Restoration. Whatever be the truth of this allegation, Baillie appears before the year 1676, to have been otherwise allied to the non-conformist party.

The incident which first brought him forward into view as a subject of persecution, was one of those interferences in behalf of natural justice, where all sense of consequences is overborne by the exigency of the occasion. During the misgovernment of the Duke of Lauderdale, a wretched profligate of the name of Carstairs had bargained with Archbishop Sharpe to undertake the business of an informer upon an uncommonly large scale, having a troop of other informers under him, and enjoying a certain reward for each individual whom he could

detect at the conventicles, besides a share of the fines imposed upon them. It may be supposed that an individual who could permit himself to enter upon a profession of this kind, would not be very scrupulous as to the guilt of the persons whom he sought to make his prey. He accordingly appears to have, at least in one noted instance, pounced upon an individual who was perfectly innocent. This was the Rev. Mr Kirkton, a non-conformist minister it is true, but one who had been cautious to keep strictly within the verge of the law. Kirkton was the brother-in-law of Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, by his marriage to the sister of that gentleman, and he is eminent in Scottish literary history for a memoir of the church during his own times, which was of great service in manuscript to the historian Wodrow, and was at length published in 1817. One day in June, 1676, as Mr Kirkton was walking along the High Street of Edinburgh, Carstairs, whose person he did not know, accosted him in a very civil manner, and expressed a desire to speak with him in private. Mr Kirkton, suspecting no evil, followed Carstairs to a very mean-looking house, near the common prison. Carstairs, who had no warrant to apprehend or detain Mr Kirkton, went out to get one, locking the door upon his victim.¹ The unfortunate clergyman then perceived that he was in some danger, and prevailed upon a person in the house to go to seek his brother-in-law, Mr Baillie, and apprise him of his situation. Carstairs, having in vain endeavoured to get the requisite number of privy-councillors to sign a warrant, now came back, resolved, it appears, to try at least if he could not force some money from Mr Kirkton for his release. Just as they were about to confer upon this subject, Mr Baillie came to the door, with several other persons, and called to Carstairs to open. Kirkton, hearing the voices of friends, took courage, and desired his captor either to set him free, or to show a warrant for his detention. Carstairs, instead of doing either, drew a pocket pistol, and Kirkton found it necessary, for his own safety, to enter into a personal struggle, and endeavour to secure the weapon of his antagonist. The gentlemen without, hearing a struggle, and cries of murder, burst open the door, and found Carstairs sitting upon Mr Kirkton, on the floor. Baillie drew his sword, and commanded the poltroon to come off, asking him at the same time if he had any warrant for apprehending Mr Kirkton. Carstairs said he had a warrant for conducting him to prison, but he utterly refused to show it, though Mr Baillie said that, if he saw any warrant against his friend, he would assist in carrying it into execution. The wretch still persisting in saying he had a warrant, but was not bound to show it, Mr Baillie left the place, with Mr Kirkton and other friends, having offered no violence whatever to Carstairs, but only threatened to sue him for unlawful invasion of his brother-in-law's person.

It might have been expected from even a government so lost to all honour and justice as that which now prevailed in Scotland, that it would have had at least the *good sense* to overlook this unhappy accident to one of its tools. On the contrary, it was resolved to brave the popular feeling of right, by listening to the complaints of Carstairs. Through the influence of Archbishop Sharpe, who said that, if Carstairs was not countenanced, no one would be procured to apprehend fanatics afterwards, a majority of the council agreed to prosecute Baillie, Kirkton, and the other persons concerned. For this purpose, an antedated warrant was furnished to Carstairs, signed by nine of the councillors. The Marquis of Atholl told Bishop Burnet, that he had been one of the nine who lent their names to this infamous document. The whole case was therefore made out to be a tumult against the government; Baillie was fined in six thousand merks, (£318 sterling)² and his friends in smaller sums, and to be imprisoned till they should render payment.

¹ Burnet. Wodrow's account is slightly different.

² Wodrow says £500 sterling, new edit. v. 2. p. 328.

This award was so opposite, in every particular, to the principles of truth, honour, and justice, that, even if not directed against individuals connected with the popular cause, it could not have failed to excite general indignation. It appears that a respectable minority of the council itself was strongly opposed to the decision, and took care to let it be known at court. Mr Baillie was therefore released at the end of four months, in consideration of payment of one half of his fine to the creature Carstairs. Lord Halton, however, who was at this time a kind of pro-regent under his brother Lauderdale, had interest to obtain the dismissal of his opponents from the council, namely, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton, Dumfries, and Kincardine, and the Lords Cochrane and Primrose, whom he branded, for their conduct on this occasion, as enemies to the church and favourers of conventicles.

After this period, nothing is known of Mr Baillie till the year 1683, when he is found taking a prominent share in a scheme of emigration, agitated by a number of Scottish gentlemen, who saw no refuge but this from the tyranny of the government. These gentlemen entered into a negotiation with the patentees of South Carolina, for permission to convey themselves thither, along with their families and dependents. While thus engaged, Mr Baillie was induced, along with several of his friends, to enter into correspondence and counsel with the heads of the Puritan party in England, who were now forming an extensive plan of insurrection, for the purpose of obtaining a change of measures in the government, though with no ulterior view. Under the pretext of the American expedition, Lord Melville, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Mr Baillie, and three others, were invited and repaired to London, to consult with the Duke of Monmouth, Sydney, Russell, and the rest of that party. This scheme was never properly matured; indeed, it never was any thing but a matter of talk, and had ceased to be even that, when a minor plot for assassinating the king, to which only a small number of the party were privy, burst prematurely, and involved several of the chiefs, who were totally ignorant of it, in destruction. Sydney and Russell suffered for this crime, of which they were innocent; and Baillie and several other gentlemen were seized and sent down to be tried in Scotland.²

The subsequent judicial proceedings were characterised by the usual violence and illegality of the time. He endured a long confinement, during which he was treated very harshly, and not permitted to have the society of his lady, though she offered to go into irons, as an assurance against any attempt at facilitating his escape. An attempt was made to procure sufficient proof of guilt from the confessions wrought out of his nephew-in-law, the Earl of Tarras (who had been first married to the elder sister of the Duchess of Monmouth); but, this being found insufficient, his prosecutors were at last obliged to adopt the unlawful expedient, too common in those distracted times, of putting him to a purgative oath. An accusation was sent to him, not in the form of an indictment, nor grounded on any law, but on a letter of the king, in which he was charged with a conspiracy to raise rebellion, and a concern in the Ryehouse Plot. He was told that, if he would not clear himself of these charges by his oath, he should be held as guilty, though not as in a criminal court, but only as before the council, who had no power to award a higher sentence than fine and imprisonment. As he utterly refused to yield to such a demand, he was fined by

² Mr Rose, in his *Observations on Mr Fox's History*, relates that the hope of a pardon being held out to him, on condition of his giving information respecting some friends supposed to be engaged with him, his answer was, "They who can make such a proposal to me neither know me nor my country;" an expression of which the latter part is amply justified by fact, for, as Lord John Russell has justly observed, in his *Memoirs of Lord William Russell*, "It is to the honour of Scotland, that [on this occasion] no witnesses came forward voluntarily, to accuse their associates, as had been done in England."

the council in £6,000, being about the value of his whole estates. It was then supposed that the prosecution would cease, and that he would escape with the doom of a captive. For several months he continued shut up in a loathsome prison, which had such an effect upon his health that he was brought almost to the last extremity. Yet "all the while," to use the words of Bishop Burnet,³ "he seemed so composed, and even so cheerful, that his behaviour looked like a reviving of the spirit of the noblest of the old Greeks or Romans, or rather of the primitive Christians, and first martyrs in those last days of the church." At length, on the 23rd of December, 1684, he was brought before the court of judicary. He was now so weak as to be obliged to appear at the bar in his night-gown, and take frequent applications of cordials, which were supplied to him by his sister, the wife of Mr Ker of Graden. The only evidence that could be produced was the confessions forced from his friends by torture, one of whom, the Rev. Mr Carstairs, afterwards the distinguished Principal of the Edinburgh University, had only emitted a declaration, on an express promise that no use was to be made of it. Mr Baillie solemnly denied having been accessory to any conspiracy against the king's life, or being unfavourably disposed to monarchical government. He complained that his friends had been forced to bring forth untrue representations against him. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the whole extent of his offence was a *desire* to procure some amelioration of the measures, and not any change of the members of the government; we say *desire*, because it never could be proved that a single step had been taken in the matter, nor is there the least probability that it would have ever been heard of, but for the trials of several innocent persons.

A cavalier and contemporary writer has alleged that Mr Baillie conducted himself on his trial in a very haughty and scornful manner,—“very huffy and proud,” is the expression used—but this probably is only the colour given by a political enemy to the Roman dignity, which Burnet saw in his behaviour. After the evidence had been adduced, and when the Lord Advocate had ended his charge, the following remarkable dialogue took place between him and that officer:—

“My lord, I think it very strange that you charge me with such abominable things; you may remember that when you came to me in person, you told me that such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How then, my lord, did you come to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your consciences that I am more guilty than before? You may remember what passed betwixt us in prison.”

The whole audience fixed their eyes upon the advocate, who appeared in no small confusion, and said,

“Jerviswood, I own what you say. My thoughts there were as a private man; but what I say here is by special direction of the privy council. And,” pointing to Sir William Paterson, clerk, “he knows my orders.”

“Well,” said Baillie, “if your lordship have one conscience for yourself, and another for the council, I pray God forgive you; I do. My lords,” he added, “I trouble your lordships no further.”

The assize was empannelled at midnight, and sat till nine in the morning of the succeeding day, when a verdict of guilty was returned against Mr Baillie, and he was sentenced to be executed that afternoon, at the cross, and his limbs to be afterwards exhibited on the jails of four different Scottish towns. The reason for such precipitation was the fear of his judges that a natural death would disappoint the wishes of the government, which called imperatively at this

³ Burnet, being the nephew of Sir Archibald Johnstone, was cousin by marriage to Mr Baillie.

moment for a public example to terrify its opponents. Baillie only said, "My lords, the time is short, the sentence is sharp, but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." On returning to the prison he experienced what Wodrow describes as "a wonderful rapture of joy, from the assurance he had, that in a few hours he should be inconceivably happy."

Mr Baillie was attended to the scaffold by his faithful and affectionate sister. He had prepared an address to the people; but knowing that he might be prevented from delivering it, he had previously given it to his friends in writing. It is said that the government afterwards offered to give up his body for burial, if his friends would agree to suppress this document. They appear to have rejected the proposition. The unfortunate gentleman was so weak that he required to be assisted in mounting the ladder: he betrayed, however, no symptom of moral weakness. Just before being consigned to his fate, he said, in the self-accusing spirit of true excellence, "My faint zeal for the protestant religion has brought me to this end." His sister-in-law, with the stern virtue of her family, waited to the last.²

"Thus," says Bishop Burnet, "a learned and worthy gentleman, after twenty months' hard usage, was brought to death, in a way so full in all the steps of it of the spirit and practice of the courts of Inquisition, that one is tempted to think that the methods taken in it were suggested by one well studied, if not practised, in them. The only excuse that ever was pretended for this infamous prosecution was, that they were sure he was guilty; and that the whole secret of the negotiation between the two kingdoms was intrusted to him; and that, since he would not discover it, all methods might be taken to destroy him. Not considering what a precedent they made on this occasion, by which, if they were once possessed of an ill opinion of a man, they were to spare neither artifice nor violence, but to hunt him down by any means."

Dr Owen has testified in a strong manner to the great abilities of the Scottish Sydney. Writing to a Scottish friend, he said, "You have truly men of great spirits among you; there is, for a gentleman, Mr Baillie of Jerviswood, a person of the greatest abilities I ever almost met with."

Mr Baillie's family was completely ruined by his forfeiture. He left a son, George Baillie, who, after his execution, was obliged to take refuge in Holland, whence he afterwards returned with the Prince of Orange, by whom he was restored to his estates. The wife of this gentleman was Miss Grizel Hume, daughter of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, a fellow-patriot of Mr Robert Baillie. The occasion of their meeting was very remarkable. Miss Grizel, when a very young girl, was sent by her father from the country, to endeavour to convey a letter to Mr Baillie in prison, and bring back what intelligence she could. She succeeded in this difficult enterprise; and having at the same time met with Mr Baillie's son, the intimacy and friendship was formed, which was afterwards completed by their marriage.

BAILLIE, MATTHEW, M.D. a distinguished modern physician and anatomist, was the son of the Rev. James Baillie, D.D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. He was born October 27, 1761, in the manse of Shotts, of which parish his father was then minister. The father of Dr Matthew Baillie was supposed to be descended from the family of Baillie of Jerviswood, so noted in the history of Scottish freedom; his mother was a sister of the two celebrated anatomists, Dr William and Mr John Hunter; and one of his two sisters was Miss Joanna

² "The Lady Graden, with a more than masculine courage, attended him on the scaffold till he was quartered, and went with the hangman and saw his quarters sodden, oyled, &c." — *Fountainhall's Notes*, 117, 118. It is scarcely possible for an individual accustomed to the feelings of modern society to believe such a statement.

Baillie, the late well known and amiable authoress of "Plays on the Passions." After receiving the rudiments of his education under his father's immediate superintendence, he began his academical course in 1773, in the University of Glasgow, where he distinguished himself so highly as to be transferred, in 1778, upon Snell's foundation, to Balliol College, Oxford. Here, when he had attained the proper standing, he took his degrees in arts and physic. In 1780, while still keeping his terms at Oxford, he commenced his anatomical studies at London, under the care of his uncles. He had the great advantage of residing with Dr William Hunter, and, when he became sufficiently advanced in his studies, of being employed to make the necessary preparations for the lectures, to conduct the demonstrations, and to superintend the operations of the students. On the death of Dr Hunter, March 1783, he was found qualified to become the successor of that great man, in conjunction with Mr Cruickshank, who had previously been employed as Dr Hunter's assistant. His uncle appointed him by will to have the use of his splendid collection of anatomical preparations, so long as he should continue an anatomical lecturer, after which it was to be transferred to Glasgow College. Dr Baillie began to lecture in 1784, and soon acquired the highest reputation as an anatomical teacher. He was himself indefatigable in the business of forming preparations, adding, it is said, no fewer than eleven hundred articles to his uncle's museum. He possessed the valuable talent of making an abstruse and difficult subject plain; his prelections were remarkable for that lucid order and clearness of expression which proceed from a perfect conception of the subject; and he never permitted any vanity of display to turn him from his great object of conveying information in the simplest and most intelligible way, and so as to become useful to his pupils. The distinctness of his elocution was also much admired, notwithstanding that he never could altogether shake off the accent of his native country. In 1795, Dr Baillie embodied the knowledge he possessed through his own observations and those of his uncle, in a small but most valuable work, entitled, "The Morbid Anatomy of some of the most important parts of the Human Body," which was immediately translated into French and German, and extended his name to every land where medical science was cultivated. The publication of this little treatise was, indeed, an era in the history of medical knowledge in this country. It combined all the information formerly scattered through the writings of Bonetus, Lieutaud, and Montagni, besides the immense store of observations made by the ingenious author. The knowledge of the changes produced on the human frame by disease had previously been very imperfect; but it was now so completely elucidated that, with the assistance of this little volume, any person previously acquainted with morbid symptoms, but unacquainted with the disease, could, upon an examination after death, understand the whole malady. Perhaps no production of the period, ever had so much influence on the study of medicine, or contributed so much to correct unfounded speculations upon the nature of disease, to excite a spirit of observation, and to lead the attention of the student to fact and experience. Along with all its excellencies, it was delightful to observe the extreme modesty and total absence of pretension, with which the author, in the fulness of his immense knowledge, ushered it into the world.

In 1787, Dr Baillie had been elected physician to St George's Hospital, a situation which afforded him many of those opportunities of observation upon which the success of his work on Morbid Anatomy was founded. In 1789, having taken his degree of M.D. at Oxford, he was admitted a candidate at the College of Physicians, and in the following year had the full privileges of fellowship conferred upon him. About the same time, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, to which he had contributed two essays. He served the

office of censor in the Royal College of Physicians, in 1792 and 1797, and that of commissioner under the act of parliament for the inspection and licensing of mad-houses, in 1794 and 1795.

In 1799, Dr Baillie relinquished the business of an anatomical lecturer, and in 1800 resigned his duties as physician to St George's Hospital. Partly by the influence of his fame as an anatomist, and partly through the disinterested recommendations of several members of his own profession, he found himself gradually tempted into the less agreeable business of a general physician. He was always resorted to, when more than ordinary scientific precision was required. About the year 1801, when he had attained the mature age of forty, he had become completely absorbed in practice. As a physician, he possessed, in an eminent degree, a facility in distinguishing diseases,—one of the most important qualifications in the practice of medicine; as a want of accuracy in discriminating symptomatic from primary affections leads to the most serious errors; whilst it may be said that, when a disease is once distinctly characterised, and the peculiarities of the case defined, the cure is half performed. Habits of attentive observation had enabled Dr Baillie to know, with great accuracy, the precise extent of the powers of medicine; indeed, there was no class of cases more likely to fall under his observation than those in which they had been abused; younger practitioners being apt to carry a particular system of treatment beyond its proper limits; Dr Baillie's readiness, therefore, in seeing this abuse, rendered his opinions, in many cases, of great value. Yet he was always scrupulously anxious, through the natural benignity of his disposition, to use his knowledge with a delicate regard to the interests of those juniors whose procedure he was called upon to amend. He managed, indeed, this part of his practice with so much delicacy that he was held in the utmost affection and esteem by the younger branches of the profession.

Dr Baillie was remarkable for forming his judgment of any case before him from his own observations exclusively; carefully guarding himself against any prepossessions from the opinions suggested by others. When he visited a patient, he observed him accurately, he listened to him attentively, he put a few pointed questions—and his opinion was formed. Beneath a most natural and unassuming manner, which was the same on all occasions, was concealed an almost intuitive power of perceiving the state of his patient. His mind was always quietly, but eagerly directed, to an investigation of the symptoms; and he had so distinct and systematic a mode of putting questions, that the answers of his patients often presented a connected view of the whole case. On such occasions, he avoided technical and learned phrases; he affected none of that sentimental tenderness, which is sometimes assumed by a physician with a view to recommend himself to his patient; but he expressed what he had to say in the simplest and plainest terms; with some pleasantry, if the occasion admitted of it, and with gravity and gentleness, if they were required; and he left his patient, either encouraged or tranquillized, persuaded that the opinion he had received was sound and honest, whether it was unfavourable or not, and that his physician merited his confidence. In delivering or writing his opinions, he was equally remarkable for unaffected simplicity. His language was sometimes so plain, that his patients have been able to repeat to their other medical attendants, every word which he had uttered. In consultation, he gave his opinion concisely, and with a few grounds; those grounds being chiefly facts, rather than arguments, so that little room was left for dispute. If any difference or difficulty arose, his example pointed out the way of removing it, by an appeal to other facts, and by a neglect of speculative reasoning.

In every relation and situation of private life, Dr Baillie was equally to be

admired; and it must be added, that the same liberal and just ideas which, on all occasions, guided his conduct as an individual, ruled him in his many public duties: he never countenanced any measures which had the appearance of oppression or hostility towards the members of his profession. Men seldom act, collectively, with the same honour and integrity as they would do individually; and a member of a public body requires an unusual share of moral courage, who opposes those measures of his associates, which he may not himself approve of; but if there was one qualification more than another, which gave Dr Baillie the public confidence he enjoyed, and raised him to the zenith of professional distinction, it was his inflexible integrity.

In 1799, Dr Baillie commenced the publication of "A Series of Engravings, to illustrate some parts of Morbid Anatomy," in successive *fasciculi*, which were completed in 1802. The drawings for this splendid work were done by Mr Clift, the Conservator of the Hunterian Museum in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and they were creditable at once to the taste and liberality of Dr Baillie, and to the state of art in that day. Dr Baillie afterwards published "An Anatomical description of the Gravid Uterus;" and throughout the whole course of his professional life, he contributed largely to the transactions and medical collections of the time. When he was at the height of his popularity, he enjoyed a higher income than any preceding physician, and which was only inferior to the sum received by one particular contemporary. In one of his busiest years, when he had scarcely time to take a single meal, it is said to have reached £10,000. He was admitted to have the greatest *consultation business* of his time; and it was known that he was applied to for medical advice from many distant quarters of the world. From his arduous, and to his mind, often irksome duties, he enjoyed no relaxation for many years, till at length he began to indulge in an annual retirement of a few months to the country. On one of the first of these occasions, he paid a visit to the land of his birth, which, during an absence of thirty years, spent in busy and distracting pursuits, he had never ceased to regard with the most tender feelings. The love of country was, indeed, a prominent feature in his character; and he was prepared on this occasion to realize many enjoyments which he had previously contemplated with enthusiasm, in the prospect of once more beholding the land and friends of his youth. The result was far different from his expectations. He found most of his early companions either scattered over the world, in search, as he himself had been, of fortune, or else forgotten in untimely graves; of those who survived, many were removed beyond his sympathies by that total alteration of feeling which a difference of worldly circumstances so invariably effects in the hearts of early friends, on the side of the depressed party as well as the elevated.

Dr Baillie was introduced to the favourable notice of the royal family, in consequence of his treatment of the duke of Gloucester. Being subsequently joined in consultation with the king's physicians, upon his majesty's own unhappy case, he came more prominently than ever into public view, as in some measure the principal director of the royal treatment. The *political* responsibility of this situation was so very weighty, that, if Dr Baillie had been a man of less firmness of nerve, he could scarcely have maintained himself under it. Such, however, was the public confidence in his inflexible integrity, that, amidst the hopes and fears which for a long time agitated the nation, on the subject of the king's health, the opinion of Dr Baillie ever regulated that of the public. On the first vacancy, which occurred in 1810, he was appointed one of the physicians to the king, with the offer of a baronetcy, which, however, his good sense and unassuming disposition induced him to decline.

Dr Baillie at length sunk under the weight of his practice, notwithstanding

that for several years he had taken every possible expedient to shift off his duties to the care of younger aspirants. At the last quarterly meeting of the College of Physicians before his death, when there was a full assemblage of members, in the midst of the affairs for the consideration of which they were called together, Dr Baillie entered the room, emaciated, hectic, and with all the symptoms of approaching dissolution. Such was the effect of his sudden and unexpected appearance, that the public business was suspended, and every one present instantly and spontaneously rose, and remained standing until Dr Baillie had taken his seat; the incident though trivial evinces the affectionate reverence with which he was regarded. Besides the natural claim he had upon this body, from his unapproached anatomical and medical skill, and the extraordinary benignity and worth of his character, he had entitled himself to its peculiar gratitude by leaving to it the whole of his valuable collection of preparations, together with the sum of six hundred pounds to keep it in order. Dr Baillie died on the 23d of September, 1823.

Dr Baillie had married, 8th May, 1791, Miss Sophia Denman, second daughter of Dr Denman of London, a distinguished physician, and sister of Mr., subsequently Lord Denman and Lord High Chancellor of England. By her he left one son, to whom he devoted his estate of Dantisbourne, in Gloucestershire, and one daughter. The sums and effects destined by his will, many of which were given to medical institutions and public charities, were sworn in the Prerogative Court at less than £80,000.

Dr Baillie is thus characterised in the *Annual Obituary* for 1824. "He seemed to have an innate goodness of heart, a secret sympathy with the virtuous, and to rejoice in their honourable and dignified conduct, as in a thing in which he had a personal interest, and as if he felt that his own character was raised by it, as well as human nature ennobled. He censured warmly what he disapproved, from a strong attachment to what is right, not to display his superiority to others, or to give vent to any asperity of temper; at the same time he was indulgent to failings; his kindness to others leading him on many occasions to overlook what was due to himself; and even in his last illness he paid gratuitous professional visits which were above his strength, and was in danger of suddenly exhausting himself by exertions for others. His liberal disposition was well known to all acquainted with public subscriptions; the great extent to which it showed itself in private benefactions is known only to those who were nearly connected with him, and perhaps was fully known only to himself."

BAIRD, (the Right Honourable, General Sir) DAVID, a distinguished commander during the wars of the French Revolution, was the second surviving son of William Baird, Esq., heir, by settlement, of his second cousin Sir John Baird, of Newbyth, Bart. He entered the army, December 16, 1772, as an ensign in the 2nd foot, joined the regiment at Gibraltar, April 1773, and returned to Britain in 1776. Having been promoted to a lieutenancy in 1778, he immediately after obtained a company in the 73rd, a regiment then just raised by Lord Macleod, with which he sailed for India, and arrived at Madras, January 1780.

This young regiment was here at once ushered into the trying and hazardous scenes of the war against Hyder Ally, whom the English company had provoked by a shameful breach of faith into a hostility that threatened to overwhelm it. In July 1780, while the company, exclusive of Lord Macleod's regiment, had only about 5,000 men under arms, Hyder burst into the Carnatic with an army of 100,000 men, disciplined and commanded by French officers, and laid siege to Arcot, the capital of the only native prince friendly to the British. Sir Hector Munro, commander-in-chief of the Company's troops, set out to relieve this city on the 25th of August, expecting to be joined on the 30th, by a large detachment then in the northern circles under Colonel Baillie. On learning this

movement, Hyder left Arcot, and threw himself in the way of Colonel Baillie. In order to favour, if possible, the approach of this officer, Sir Hector Munro, on the 5th of September, changed his position a little, and advanced two miles on the Trepassore road, which brought him within a short distance from the enemy. Hyder then detached his brother-in-law, Meer Saib, with 8,000 horse, to attack Colonel Baillie, and afterwards an additional force of 6,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry, and 12 pieces of cannon, under his son, the celebrated Tippoo. He at the same time made demonstrations on his front, to keep up the attention of Sir Hector and the main army. Baillie, though commanding no more than 2,000 Sepoys and a few European companies, gained a complete victory over the immense force sent against him, but at the same time sent word to Sir Hector, that, unless provision were made for accomplishing a junction, he must certainly be cut off. The commander-in-chief held a council of war, when it was determined at all hazards to send a reinforcement, for the purpose of achieving the relief of this gallant officer. A small force was selected, consisting principally of the grenadier and infantry companies of Lord Macleod's regiment, which, having received strict injunctions as to the necessity of a secret and expeditious march, set off towards Colonel Baillie's position, under the command of Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird. Hyder Ally had secret intelligence of this movement, and sent a detachment to cut it off; but Colonel Fletcher and Captain Baird, having fortunately conceived some suspicion of their guides, suddenly altered their line of march, and were thereby enabled to gain their point. Hyder was determined that Colonel Baillie, with his friends, should not advance so safely to the main army. He therefore, with the most consummate ability, and under his own personal inspection, prepared an ambuscade at a particular pass through which they would have to march. This part of the road, he had occupied and enfiladed with several batteries of cannon, behind which lay large bodies of his best foot, while he himself, with almost his whole force, was ready to support the attack. While these real dispositions were made, a cloud of irregular cavalry was employed in several motions on the side of Conjeveram, in order to divert the attention of the English camp.

The morning of the 10th of September had scarcely dawned, when the silent and expectant enemy perceived Colonel Baillie's little army advancing into the very toils planted to receive it. The ambuscade reserved their fire with admirable coolness and self-command, till the unhappy English were in the midst of them. The army marched in column. On a sudden, while in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns poured a storm of grape-shot into their right flank. The English faced about; another battery immediately opened on their rear. They had no alternative, therefore, but to advance; other batteries met them here likewise, and in less than half an hour, 57 pieces of cannon were so brought to bear on them as to penetrate into every part of the British line. By seven o'clock in the morning, the enemy poured down upon them in thousands, and every Englishman in the army was engaged. Captain Baird, at the head of his grenadiers, fought with the greatest heroism. Surrounded and attacked on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, by 30 regiments of Sepoy infantry, besides Hyder Ally's European corps, and a numerous artillery playing upon them from all quarters within grape-shot distance, yet this heroic column stood firm and undaunted, alternately facing their enemies on every side of attack. The French officers in Hyder's camp beheld the scene with astonishment, which was increased, when, in the midst of all this tumult and extreme peril, they saw the British grenadiers performing their evolutions with as much precision, coolness, and steadiness, as if under the eyes of a commander on a parade.

1. Colonels Baillie and Fletcher, and, 2. Captain Baird, had only ten pieces of

cannon ; but these were so excellently served, that they made great havoc amongst the enemy. At length, after a dubious contest of three hours, (from six in the morning till nine,) victory began to declare for the English ; the flower of the Mysore cavalry, after many bloody repulses, were at length entirely defeated with great slaughter, and the right wing, composed of Hyder's best forces, was thrown into disorder, and began to give way. Hyder himself was about to give the orders for retreat, and the French officer who directed the artillery began to draw it off.

At this moment of exultation and triumph, when British valour was just about to reap that safety which it had so well fought for, there occurred an unlucky accident, which entirely altered the fortune of the day. The tumbrils containing the ammunition suddenly blew up, with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British line. The whole face of their column was laid open, and their artillery overturned and destroyed. The destruction of men was great, but the total loss of their ammunition was still more fatal to the survivors. Tippoo Saib, a worthy son of his martial father, instantly saw and seized the moment of advantage, and, without waiting for orders, fell with the utmost rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horse, into the broken square, which had not yet time in any degree to recover its form and order. This attack by the enemy's cavalry being immediately seconded by the French corps, and by the first line of infantry, determined at once the fate of our unfortunate army. After successive prodigies of valour, the brave Sepoys were almost to a man cut to pieces.

Colonels Baillie and Fletcher made one more desperate effort ; they rallied the Europeans, and, under the fire of the whole artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence and formed themselves into a square. In this form, did this invincible band, though totally without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their swords, and the soldiers with their bare bayonets, resist and repulse the enemy in thirteen different attacks ; until, at length, incapable of withstanding the successive torrents of fresh troops which were continually pouring upon them, they were fairly borne down and trampled upon, many of them still continuing to fight under the very legs of the horses and elephants.

Out of about 4,000 Sepoys and 800 Europeans who had commenced this engagement, only about 200 of the latter survived. Colonel Fletcher was among the slain, and Captain Baird had wounds in four places. When he and Colonel Baillie, with other captive officers, were taken before Hyder Ally, the latter gentleman said to the barbarous chief, " Your son will inform you, that you owe the victory to our disaster, rather than to our defeat." Hyder angrily ordered them from his presence, and commanded them instantly to prison. The slaughter among the Mysore troops was very great, amounting, it is said, to three times the whole British army. When Sir Hector Munroe learned the unhappy fate of his detachment, he found it necessary to retreat to Madras.

Captain Baird, with the officers, remained in a dungeon in one of Hyder's forts for three days and a half ; he was chained by the leg to another prisoner, as much of the slaughter in Hyder's army was attributed to the grenadiers. At length, in July 1784, he was released, and joined his regiment at Arcot. In 1787, he removed with his regiment (now styled the 71st) to Bombay, and returned to Madras next year. On the 5th of June 1789, he received the majority of the 71st, and in October obtained leave of absence, and returned to Britain. In 1791, he returned as lieutenant-colonel of the 71st, and joined the army under the marquis Cornwallis. As commander of a brigade of Sepoys, he was present at the attack of a number of Drooga, or hill-forts, and at the siege of Seringapatam, in 1791 and 1792 ; and likewise at the storming of Tippoo

Sultaun's lines and camps in the island of Seringapatam. In 1793, he commanded a brigade of Europeans, and was present at the siege of Pondicherry. He received a colonelcy in 1795. In October 1797, he embarked at Madras with his regiment for Europe; in December, when he arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, he was appointed Brigadier-general, and placed on that staff, in command of a brigade. June 18, 1798, he was appointed Major-general, and returned to the staff in India. In January 1799, he arrived at Madras, in command of two regiments of foot, together with the drafts of the 28th dragoons. May 4, he commanded the storming party at that distinguished action, the assault of Seringapatam; when, in requital of his brilliant services, he was presented by the army, through the Commander-in-chief, with the state sword of Tippoo Sultaun, and also with a dress-sword from the field-officers serving under his immediate command at the assault.

The eminent merit of Brigadier-general Baird was now fully known and acknowledged by the government at home. He was therefore, in 1800, appointed to the command of an expedition against Batavia, but which was afterwards sent to Egypt. He landed at Cosair in June, crossed the desert, and, embarking on the Nile, descended to Grand Cairo; whence he set out for Alexandria, which he reached a few days before it surrendered to General Hutchinson. Next year he led the Egyptian Indian army overland to India, where he was concerned in various military transactions. His services, however, being soon after superseded by Sir Arthur Wellealey (afterwards the illustrious protector of Europe), he sailed for Britain with his staff, March 1803, and after a tedious voyage, during which he was taken prisoner by a French privateer, but afterwards retaken, he arrived in England in November.

Sir David Baird was received at the British court with great distinction. In December, he received the royal permission to wear the Turkish order of the Crescent. In June, 1804, he received the honour of knighthood; and on the 18th of August following became a knight companion of the Bath. With the increased rank of Lieutenant-general, he commanded an expedition which sailed in October 1805, for the Cape of Good Hope. Landing there, January 6, 1806, he attacked and beat the Dutch army, and on the 18th received the surrender of the colony. Being recalled, he arrived in Britain, April 1807, and was shifted from the colonelcy of the 54th, which he had held for some years, to that of the 24th, and placed on the foreign staff under General Lord Cathcart. He commanded a division at the siege of Copenhagen, where he was twice slightly wounded; and returned with the army in November.

After a short period of service in Ireland, Sir David sailed in command of an armament of 10,000 men for Corunna, where he arrived in November 1808, and formed a junction with the army under General Sir John Moore. He commanded the first division of that army, and in the battle of Corunna, January 16, 1809, he lost his left arm.

By the death of Sir John Moore in this action, Sir David succeeded to the chief command, and had the honour of communicating intelligence of the victory to government. On this occasion, he received for the fourth time in his life the thanks of parliament, and, April 13, was created a baronet, with very honourable armorial bearings allusive to the transactions of his life. After this period, he never again appeared in active service. In 1810, he married Miss Preston Campbell, of Ferntower and Lochlane, Perthshire, by whom he left no issue. In 1814, he was promoted to the rank of General, and in 1819 became governor of Kinsale in Ireland, and in 1827, of Fort George in the north of Scotland. This brave veteran died at an advanced age, August 18, 1829, at his seat of Ferntower in Perthshire. His lady, who survived him till 1847, erected

a monument to his memory on the top of a romantic hill, named, Tom-na-chastel, (i. e. the hill of the castle,) in the neighbourhood of Fern-tower.

BALCANQUEL, WALTER, D.D. an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the son of the Rev. Walter Balcanquel, who was a minister of Edinburgh for forty-three years, and died in August, 1616. Dr Walter Balcanquel was born at Edinburgh. It has been supposed that he was himself a minister of Edinburgh; but probably the writer who makes this statement only mistakes him for his father, who bore the same name. He entered a bachelor of divinity at Pembroke Hall, Oxford, where, September 8th, 1611, he was admitted a *fellow*. He appears to have enjoyed the patronage and friendship of King James, and his first preferment was to be one of the royal chaplains. In 1617, he became Master of the Savoy in the Strand, London; which office, however, he soon after resigned in favour of Mark Antony de Dominis, archbishop of Spalatro, who came to England on account of religion, and became a candidate for the king's favour. In 1618, Dr Balcanquel was sent to the celebrated synod of Dort, as one of the representatives of the church of Scotland. He has given an account of a considerable part of the proceedings of this grand religious council, in a series of letters to Sir Dudley Carleton, which are to be found in "The Golden Remains of the ever memorable Mr John Hales of Eaton, 4to. 1673." In 1621, the Archbishop of Spalatro having resigned the mastership of the Savoy, Dr Balcanquel was re-appointed; and on the 12th of March, 1624, being then doctor of divinity, he was installed Dean of Rochester. George Heriot, at his death, February 12th, 1624, ordained Dr. Balcanquel to be one of the three executors of his last will, and to take the principal charge of the establishment of his hospital at Edinburgh. Probably, the experience which he had already acquired in the management of the Savoy Hospital might be the chief cause of his being selected for this important duty. Heriot appointed Dr Balcanquel, by his will, "to repair, with all the convenience he can, after my decease, to the town of Edinburgh," in order to conclude with the magistrates about the business of the hospital; allowing him, for his pains, in addition to the sum of one hundred merks, which he enjoyed as an ordinary executor, one hundred pounds sterling, payable by two equal instalments—the first three months after the decease of the testator, and the second at the completion of the hospital.

Dr Balcanquel is entitled to no small commendation for the able manner in which he discharged this great and onerous trust. The Statutes, which, in terms of the testator's will, were drawn up by him, are dated 1627, and do great credit to his sagacity and practical good sense.¹

¹ They conclude with the following adjuration to the magistrates and clergy of Edinburgh, who were designed in all time coming to be the managers of the hospital; a piece of composition, calculated, we should think, by its extraordinary solemnity and impressiveness, to have all the effect which could be expected, from connecting the obligations of the trustees with the sanctions of religion:—

"And now, finally, I, the unworthy servant of God, Walter Balcanquel, the composer of these Statutes, do onerate and charge the consciences of you, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Ministry, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, and of all those who shall be your successors, unto the second coming of the Son of God, and that by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, who one day will come to judge the quick and the dead, and take a particular account of every one of you, for this particular stewardship, wherewith you are trusted; by the zeal and honour of our reformed religion, which by this pious work of the founder, is illustrated and vindicated from the calumnies of the adversaries to our holy profession, by that pious respect which you, his fellow-citizens, ought to carry to the pious memory and last will of the religious founder, your worthy citizen, *George Heriot*. And, lastly, for the clearing of your own consciences, and your own particular accounts in the great day of the Lord, let none of you, who read these presents, nor your successors, who in after ages shall come to read them, offer to frustrate the pious Founder of his holy intention, either by taking, directly or indirectly, from this hospital, any thing which he, in his piety, hath devoted unto it, or by altering it, or bestowing it upon any other use, though you shall conceive it to be far

Dr Balcanquel's next appearance in the public concerns of his native country, was of a less happy character. In 1638, when Charles I. sent down the Marquis of Hamilton to Scotland, to treat with the Covenanters, the Dean of Rochester accompanied his grace in the capacity of chaplain. What was his external behaviour on this occasion, we do not know; but it was afterwards surmised by the Covenanters, that he had been deputed by Archbishop Laud, as a spy, at once upon the Marquis, who was suspected of moderation, and the people with whom he was dealing. It is asserted by Sir James Balfour, in his "Memorials of State," that Dr Balcanquel also communicated intelligence of all that happened in Scotland, to Signor George Con, the Pope's legate, "as some of his intercepted letters can beare recorde." Early in the ensuing year, was published an apologetical narrative of the court-proceedings, under the title of "His Majesties Large Declaration, concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland," which, by universal and apparently uncontradicted report, was ascribed to the pen of Dr Balcanquel. While this work was received by the friends of the king as a triumphant vindication of his attempts upon the purity of the Scottish church, it only excited new indignation in the minds of the outraged people, who soon after appeared in arms at Dunse law, to defend their religious freedom with the sword. On the 14th of May, 1639, at the very time when the armies were about to meet on the borders, Dr Balcanquel, apparently in requital of his exertions, was installed Dean of Durham. He had now rendered himself a marked man to the Scottish presbyterians, and accordingly his name is frequently alluded to in their publications as an "incendiary." Under this character he was denounced by the Scottish estates, July 29, 1641, along with the Earl of Traquair, Sir John Hay, Clerk Register, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, all of whom were regarded as the principal causes of the war between the king and his people. In the *Canterburian's Self-Conviction*, a pamphlet written in 1641, by the Rev. Robert Baillie, against Archbishop Laud, he is spoken of in a style of such asperity, as might have convinced him that, in the event of a complete triumph of the presbyterian party, he would share in the proceedings which were now directed against that unhappy prelate. Accordingly, the very next year, when the king could no longer protect his partizans, Dr Balcanquel was forced from his mastership of the Savoy, plundered, sequestered, and obliged to fly from London. Repairing to Oxford, he attached himself to the precarious fortunes of his sovereign, and for several years afterwards, had to shift about from place to place, wherever he could find security for his life. At length, having taken refuge in Chirk Castle, Denbighshire, he died there in a very cold season, on Christmas day, 1645. He was buried next day in the parish church of Chirk, where some years after a splendid monument was erected to his memory by a neighbouring royalist, Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle.

BALFOUR, ALEXANDER, an esteemed miscellaneous writer, was born March 1st, 1767, in the parish of Monikie, Forfarshire. His parents belonged to the

more pious or profitable; or to go about to alter any of these Statutes and Ordinances, after they shall be once delivered up unto you, completely subscribed and sealed, as you will answer the contrary, at the uttermost of your perils, in the day of the Lord Jesus: to whom, (being fully assured of your goodly care and zealous conscience in these particulars) with his Father, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, but one undivided Essence of the Godhead, as for all other their blessings, so in particular for the great charity of this most pious and religious founder, be ascribed, as is most due, all praise, honour, and glory, from age to age, Amen."

It is alleged, by traditionary report, that the taste of Dr Balcanquel is conspicuous in the external architecture of Heriot's Hospital. He is said, in particular, to have directed that anomalous contrariety of ornaments which is observed in the windows of the building; a blemish, however, affecting only the details, and not the general effect of the building.

humbler rural class. His education was very limited, and he was apprenticed at an early age to a weaver. His first attempts at composition were made when he was twelve years of age. At a somewhat maturer age he contributed verses to a newspaper named the "British Chronicle," to Dr Anderson's "Bee," and to several provincial miscellanies. At twenty-six he became clerk to a manufacturing house in Arbroath, and married in the following year. From the Arbroath establishment, in which he had for several years been a partner, he removed, in 1814, to Troctick near Dundee, where he formed a connection with a branch of an extensive London house. In the ensuing year, so memorable for calamity in the commercial world, the house in which he had embarked his fortune was suddenly involved in bankruptcy. Till some better employment should occur to him, Balfour resorted to the pen, which had never been altogether laid aside in his busiest and most prosperous days, and, in 1819, he produced a novel entitled, "Campbell, or the Scottish Probationer," which was received by the public in a favourable manner. While the work was in progress, he accepted of a dependent situation at Balgonie in Fife, the emoluments of which were barely sufficient to maintain a family consisting of a wife, two sons, and three daughters. He was at length induced to remove to Edinburgh, where, in 1818, he obtained employment as a clerk from Mr Blackwood the publisher. His health suffered from constant confinement to the desk, and in June, 1819, he was obliged to relinquish his employment by a threatened attack of paralysis. For ten years after the month of October, he was unable to set his foot upon the ground, and spent his days in a wheel-chair. He was, nevertheless, enabled to devote himself, with unimpaired energy, to literary labour. He edited, in 1819, the poetical works of his deceased friend, Richard Gall, adding a biographical preface; and contributed various articles of merit, consisting of tales, sketches, and poems, descriptive of Scottish rural life, to Constable's *Edinburgh Magazine*, of which he continued one of the chief literary supporters till its close, in 1826. In this magazine appeared the poetical series, entitled, "Characters omitted in Crabbe's Parish Register," which was afterwards published in a separate volume. In 1820, he published a volume, under the title of "Contemplation, and other Poems." In 1823 he began to contribute novels to the so-called Minerva Press, his first work being, "The Foundling of Glentborn, or the Smuggler's Cave," a tale in three volumes. Amidst the pangs of his disorder, Mr. Balfour continued to enjoy such good general health, that he is said to have not been absent from his family breakfast-table more than twelve times during the long period of ten years. He slept regularly, and generally was able to spend twelve or fourteen hours each day in study and composition. His eyesight was as good, and his intellectual powers continued as vigorous as at any period of his life; but his feelings were morbidly sensitive, and he had little command over their expression. In the year 1827, through the intervention, it is believed, of Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., who presented a number of Mr Balfour's works to the premier, Mr Canning, a treasury donation of one hundred pounds was obtained for this unfortunate son of genius.

The latest considerable work of Mr Balfour was a novel, entitled, "Highland Mary," in four volumes. It is written with great simplicity and taste, and, as a story, is replete with a mournful pathos. He continued to the last to contribute to the periodical works of the day.

He enjoyed his usual health, till the 1st of September, 1829, when an illness commenced that hurried him to the grave. For some days previous to his death, he was deprived of speech, and communicated with his friends by means of an alphabet which he had occasionally used before. He died, September 12th, 1829, in the sixty-third year of his age. A memoir of Balfour was written by the late Mr Moir, of Musselburgh ("Delta"), and prefixed to a posthumous volume of his remains, published under the title of *Weeds and Wildflowers*.

BALFOUR, (Sir) ANDREW, Bart. M.D. who first introduced the dissection of the human body into Scotland, and that at a very superstitious period; who projected the first hospital in the country, for the relief of disease and poverty at the public expense; who was the founder of the botanic garden at Edinburgh, and almost the father of the science in Scotland; who planned the royal college of physicians at Edinburgh; and bequeathed to the public a museum, which at that time would have been an ornament to any university, or any metropolis,—was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmilne in Fife, and was born at that place on the 18th of January, 1630. He prosecuted his studies in the university of St Andrews, where he took his degree of A. M. At this period his education was superintended by his brother Sir James Balfour, the famous antiquary, and lion king at arms to Charles I., who was about thirty years older than himself. At college he first discovered his attachment to botany, which in him is said to have led to the study of physic, instead of being, as it generally is, a handmaid to that art. Quitting the university about the year 1650, he removed to London, where his medical studies were chiefly directed by the celebrated Harvey, by Sir Theodore Mayerne, the distinguished physician of king James I., and various other eminent practitioners. He afterwards travelled to Blois in France, and remained there for some time, to see the botanic garden of the Duke of Orleans, which was then the best in Europe, and was kept by his countryman Dr Morison. Here he contracted a warm friendship for that great botanist, which continued unimpaired while they lived. From Blois he went to Paris, where, for a long time, he prosecuted his medical studies with great ardour. He completed his education at the university of Caen, from which he received the degrees of bachelor and doctor of physic, on the 20th of September, 1661.

Returning to London soon afterwards, Dr Balfour was introduced to Charles II., who named him as the most proper person to attend the young earl of Rochester on his continental travels. After an absence of four years, he returned with his pupil in 1667. During their tour he endeavoured, and at that time not without some appearance of success, to recall that abandoned young nobleman to the paths of virtue, and to inspire him with the love of learning. Rochester himself often acknowledged, and to Bishop Burnet, in particular, only three days before his death, how much he was bound to love and honour Dr Balfour, to whom, next to his parents, he thought he owed more than to all the world.

On returning to his native country, Balfour settled at St Andrews as a physician. "He brought with him," says Dr Walker, in his *Essays on Natural History*, "the best library, especially in medicine and natural history, that had till then appeared in Scotland; and not only these, but a perfect knowledge of the languages in which they were written; likewise many unpublished manuscripts of learned men, a series of antique medals, modern medallions, and pictures and busts, to form the painter and the architect; the remarkable arms, vestments, and ornaments of foreign countries; numerous mathematical, philosophical, and surgical instruments, which he not only possessed, but used; with operations in surgery, till then unknown in this country; a complete cabinet with all the simples of the *materia medica*, and new compositions in pharmacy; and large collections of the fossils, plants, and animals, not only of the foreign countries he traversed, but of the most distant parts of the world."

Dr Balfour's merit was too conspicuous to suffer him to remain long at St Andrews. In the year 1670, he removed to Edinburgh, where he immediately came into great practice. Here, among other improvements, he prosecuted the manufacture of paper, and was the means of introducing that valuable art into the country—though for many years it remained in a state of complete, or nearly

complete dormancy; the people deriving stationary articles of all kinds from Holland. Adjoining to his house, he had a small botanic garden, which he furnished by the seeds he received from his foreign correspondents; and in this garden he raised many plants which were then first introduced into Scotland. One of his fellow-labourers in this department was Patrick Murray of Livingston, whom he had initiated into the study of natural history. This young gentleman, who enjoyed an ample fortune, formed at his seat in the country a botanic garden, containing one thousand species of plants, which at that period was a very large collection. He traversed the whole of France in quest of the plants of that country; and on his way to Italy, he prematurely died of a fever. Soon after his death, Dr Balfour transferred his collection from Livingston to Edinburgh; and with it, joined to his own, he had the merit of laying the foundation of the public botanic garden. The necessary expense of this new institution was at first defrayed by Dr Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, and the Faculty of Advocates. But at length the city allotted a piece of ground near Trinity College Church for a public garden, and out of the revenues of the university, allowed a certain sum for its support. As the first keeper of this garden, Dr Balfour selected Mr James Sutherland; who, in 1684, published a work, entitled, *Hortus Edinburgensis*. [See SUTHERLAND.] The new institution soon became considerable: plants and seeds were sent from Morison at Oxford, Watts at London, Marchant at Paris, Herman at Leyden, and Spottiswood at Tangier. From the last were received many African plants, which flourished in this country.

Such efforts as these, by a native Scotsman, occurring at a time when the attention of the country seems to have been almost exclusively devoted to contending systems of church-government, are truly grateful in the contemplation. It is only to be lamented, that the spirit which presided over them, was premature in its appearance; it found no genial field to act upon, and it was soon forgotten in the prevailing distraction of the public mind. Sir Andrew Balfour was the morning-star of science in Scotland, but he might almost be said to have set before the approach of day.

He was created a baronet by Charles II., which seems to indicate that, like most men of literary and scientific character in that age, he maintained a sentiment of loyalty to the existing dynasty and government, which was fast decaying from the public mind at large. His interest with the ministry, and with the municipality of Edinburgh, seems to have always been considerable, and was uniformly exerted for the public good, and for the encouragement of merit.

Upon his settlement in Edinburgh, he had found the medical art taught in a very loose and irregular manner. In order to place it on a more respectable footing, he planned, with Sir Robert Sibbald, the royal college of physicians; and of that respectable society his brethren elected him the first president. When the college undertook the publication of a *Pharmacopœia*, the whole arrangement of the materia medica was committed to his particular care. For such a task he was eminently qualified by his skill in natural history. This performance made its appearance in 1685; and, in the opinion of Dr Cullen, it is superior to any *Pharmacopœia* of that era.

Not long before his decease, his desire to promote the science of medicine in his native country, joined to the universal humanity of his disposition, led him to project the foundation of an hospital in Edinburgh. The institution was at first narrow and confined, but it survived to be expanded into full shape, as the royal infirmary, under the care of George Drummond. Sir Andrew died in 1694, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after a severe conflict with the gout and other painful disorders; which afforded him an opportunity of displaying upon the approach of death, those virtues and that equanimity, which had

distinguished him during his life. His person, like his mind and manners, was elegant. He was possessed of a handsome figure with a pleasing and expressive countenance; of a graceful elocution; and, by his natural disposition, as well as his long intercourse with the higher ranks in society, of a most courteous and polite demeanour. A print of him was executed at Paris; but no copy is known to exist.

His library and museum were the anxious result of fourteen years of travelling, and between twenty and thirty more of correspondence. For their accommodation, he had built an addition to his house when he had nearly arrived at his fortieth year; but after the building was completed, he found himself so infirm as to be unable to place them in that order which he intended. After his death, his library, consisting of about three thousand volumes, besides manuscripts, was sold, we suppose, by public auction. There is a printed catalogue still extant. His museum was deposited in the hall which was, till 1839, occupied as the university library. There it remained many years, useless and neglected; some parts of it falling to inevitable decay, and other parts being abstracted. "Yet, even after 1750," says Dr Walker, "it still continued a considerable collection, which I have good reason to remember, as it was the sight of it, about that time, that first inspired me with an attachment to natural history. Soon after that period," to pursue a narrative so deeply disgraceful to the age and the institution referred to, "it was dislodged from the hall where it had been long kept; was thrown aside, and exposed as lumber; was further and further dilapidated, and at length almost completely demolished. In the year 1782, out of its ruins and rubbish I extracted many pieces still valuable and useful, and placed them here in the best order I could. These, I hope, may remain long, and be considered as so many precious relics of one of the best and greatest men this country has produced."

From the account that has been given of Sir Andrew Balfour, every person conversant in natural history or medicine must regret that he never appeared as an author. To his friend, Mr Murray of Livingston, he addressed a series of familiar letters, for the direction of his researches while abroad. These letters, forming the only literary relics of Balfour, were subsequently published by his son, in the year 1700.

BALFOUR, (Sir) JAMES, an eminent lawyer and public character of the sixteenth century, was a son of Balfour of Monquhanny, in Fife, a very ancient family. In youth, being designed for the church, he made considerable proficiency, not only in ordinary literature, but in the study of divinity and law; which were all alike necessary in those times for an ecclesiastic, on account of the mixed character which the age admitted to be assumed by such individuals. Balfour, while still a young man, was so unfortunate as to join with the conspirators who, after assassinating Cardinal Beaton, held out the castle of St. Andrews against the governor Arran. He seems, however, not to have been a very cordial partizan of the conspirators. John Knox, in his own vigorous and plain-spoken manner, styled him the *Blasphemous Balfour*, on account of his having refused to communicate along with his reforming associates. Balfour shared the fate of his companions in being sent to the French galleys¹ and was confined in the same vessel along with Knox, from which he escaped in 1550, along with the rest, by the tacit permission of the French government.

¹ The following anecdote of Balfour in connexion with Knox is related by Dr M'Crie. "The galleys returned to Scotland in summer 1549, as near as I can collect, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, to watch for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship. But even in this state, his forti-

Balfour seems to have afterwards joined in the proceedings of the Reformers, but only with courtier-like temperance, and without exhibiting much zeal in the Protestant cause. He was preferred to the ecclesiastical appointment of official of Lothian, and afterwards became rector of Flisk, a parish in his native county. In 1563, he was appointed by Queen Mary to be a Lord of Session, the court then being composed partly of churchmen, and partly of laics. In 1564, when the Commissary court was instituted in place of the ecclesiastical tribunal, which had been dissolved at the Reformation, Balfour became one of the four commissaries, with a salary of four hundred merks, while the others had only three hundred. In July, 1565, the Queen extended the further favour of admitting him into her privy council.

Balfour was one of those servants of the state, who, being advanced rather on account of merit than birth, used at all times to give great offence to the Scottish nobility. It seems to have never been supposed by this haughty class, that there was the least necessity for ingenious or faithful service in the officials employed by majesty; birth and *following* were the only qualifications allowed by them to be of any value. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that the same conspiracy which overthrew the "kinless" adventurer Rizzio, contemplated the destruction of Balfour. He was so fortunate, however, as to escape, and even derived some advantage from the event, being promoted to the office of clerk-register, in room of Mr James Macgill, who was concerned in the conspiracy. He was also about this time made a knight, and appointed to be one of the commissioners for revising, correcting, and publishing the ancient laws and statutes of the kingdom.

In the beginning of the year 1567, Sir James Balfour was appointed governor of Edinburgh castle. In this important situation, he naturally became an object of great solicitude to the confederate lords, who, in the ensuing May, commenced a successful rebellion against Queen Mary. It would appear that Sir James was not now more loyal than many other persons who had experienced the favour of Mary. He is said to have even been the means of throwing into the hands of the confederates that celebrated box of letters, upon which they endeavoured to ground the proof of her guilt. There can be no doubt that he was at this time in the way of receiving high favours from the Earl of Murray, who was the chief man opposed to the dethroned queen. He was, in September, 1567, admitted by Murray a lord of his privy council, and made commendator of the priory of Pittenweem; and in December, a bargain was accomplished, by which he agreed to accept a pension of £500 and the presidency of the Court of Session, in lieu of the clerk-registry, which Murray wished to be restored to his friend Macgill. Sir James continued faithful to the party which opposed Queen Mary, till the death of Murray, January, 1569-70, when he was in some measure compelled to revert to the Queen's side, on account of a charge preferred against him by the succeeding Regent, Lennox, who taxed him with a share in the murder of Darnley. For this accusation no proof was ever adduced, but

tude of mind remained unsubdued, and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries, natural to men in their situation, 'If he thought they would ever obtain their liberty,' his uniform answer was, 'God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life.' While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St Andrews, Mr (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship, desired him to look at the land and see if he knew it. Though at that time very sick, he replied, 'Yes; I know it well, for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory: and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place.' This striking reply Sir James repeated in the presence of many witnesses, a number of years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified." *Life of Knox*, 1st edit. p. 53.

even allowing Sir James to have been guilty, it will only add another to the list of great men concerned in the transaction, and show the more clearly how neither learning, rank, official dignity, nor any other ennobling qualification, prevented a man in those days from staining his hands with blood. Balfour outlived Lennox, and was serviceable in bringing about the pacification between the King's and Queen's party, under Morton, in 1573. He would appear to have been encouraged by Morton in the task of revising the laws of the country, which he at length completed in a style allowed at that time to be most masterly. Morton afterwards thought proper to revive the charge brought by Lennox against Sir James, who was consequently obliged to retire to France, where he lived for some years. He returned in 1580, and revenged the persecution of Morton, by producing against him, on his trial, a deed to which he had acceded, in common with others of the Scottish nobility, alleging Bothwell's innocence of the King's murder, and recommending him to the Queen as a husband. Sir James died before the 14th of January, 1583-4.

The *Practicks of Scots Law*, compiled by Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, president of the Court of Session, continued to be used and consulted in manuscript, both by students and practitioners, till nearly a century after his decease, when it was for the first time supplanted by the *Institutes of Lord Stair*. Even after that event, it was held as a curious repertory of the old practices of Scottish law, besides fulfilling certain uses not answered by the work of Lord Stair. It was therefore printed in 1754, by the Ruddimans, along with an accurate biographical preface by Walter Goodal. The work was of considerable service to Dr Jamieson in his *Dictionary of the Scottish language*.

BALFOUR, (SIR) JAMES, an eminent antiquary, herald, and annalist, was born about the close of the sixteenth century. He was the eldest son of a small Fife laird, Michael Balfour of Denmylne, who derived his descent from James, son of Sir John Balfour of Balgarvy, a cadet¹ of the ancient and honourable house of Balfour of Balfour in Fife. James Balfour, the ancestor of Sir Michael, had obtained the estate of Denmylne from James II., in the fourteenth year of his reign, which corresponds with 1450-1. Michael Balfour, the father of Sir James, and also of Sir Andrew, whose life has been already commemorated, was, in the words of Sir Robert Sibbald, "equally distinguished for military bravery and civil prudence." He bore the honourable office of Comptroller of the Scottish Household, in the reign of Charles I., and in 1630 was knighted, at Holyrood house, by George, Viscount Dupplin, Chancellor of Scotland, under his Majesty's special warrant. This eminent personage was, by Jean Durham, daughter of James Durham of Pitkerrow, the father of five sons, all of whom attained to distinction in public life, besides nine daughters, who all formed honourable alliances, except two, who died unmarried. He lived to see three hundred of his own descendants; a number which his youngest son, Sir Andrew, lived to see doubled.

Sir Michael Balfour gave his eldest son an education suitable to the extended capacity which he displayed in his earliest years. This education, of which the fruits are apparent in his taste and writings, was accompanied by a thorough initiation into the duties of religion, as then professed on a presbyterian model. The genius of the future antiquary was first exhibited in a turn for poetry, which was a favourite study among the scholars of that period, even where there was no particular aptitude to excel in its composition, but for which

¹ This branch was ennobled in 1607, in the person of Michael Balfour of Balgarvy, who, having served King James in several embassies to the principal courts of Europe, was created Lord Balfour of Burleigh. This peerage was attained in consequence of the concern of its occupant in the civil war of 1715.

Sir James Balfour appears to have had a genuine taste. His juvenile proficiency in versification is thus alluded to by the poet Leoch, or Leochmas, in his *Struan*, published in 1696, of which that entitled *Janus* is dedicated *Generoso Juveni Jacobo Balfourio Kincardio* :

Hunc tu carminibus constrictum, Jacobe, Latine
Cogo tuis numeris, quos Musa Caledonis aptat,
Et natura tibi ; nam tu quoque Scotica Siren.
Panthea nostra tu est ita culta læta Britanno,
Et meliora mea, si quid quest esse, Puella.

It appears that Balfour, who cultivated Scottish vernacular poetry, had successfully translated Leoch's Latin poem, entitled, *Panthea*, into that style of verse ; therefore the Latinist says—

Namque ut pulchra satis, minus est mea Panthea casta ;
Quum non pulchra minus, et tua casta magis.

Sir Robert Sibbald informs us that he had seen a volume containing Latin and Scottish poems by Sir James Balfour, which, however, is now lost. In its absence, the taste at least of the youthful antiquary for poetical objects of contemplation, is evinced by the following letter, extracted from a transcribed collection of his epistles in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is addressed to Lord Elcho, but has no date.

My Lord,

Ye aske of my health and quhat I am aboute. I make a returne, by that rill lsewing from the ocean of your love, that I am now taken with the plesur of the feldes, and delyght als much in my reteired quietnes from out of the city, als your lordship does to find a drag going cole at Cameron,¹ for as that promises you for your pains riches, so does this to me healthful houres, and bountiful recreations with the Muses, quhen as I often feid my eiyes with the fruitful usery of my winter labors, much rejoyssing that with healthful prosperity, you should remember your poorest freindes. Onley let me pleid for my bypast silence, since I have nothing to wreatt but foolries, which I presume to be bot harsh musicke for so wyse and weill tuned eares. Howsoever, quhen you are most idle, will ye be bot pleased to overlook this paper, in which, without aney mentall reservatione, I subscribe myselve, my lord,

Your lo : most faithful servant.

Balfour also appears, at an early period of his life, to have cultivated the society of William Drummond of Hawthornden, then by far the highest poetical name in Scotland. Probably, as none of his own pieces have escaped to posterity, they were such as to render their loss no matter of regret : he must, however, have possessed the sort of qualification which we have elsewhere² designated as passive or negative poetry, that is, a keen perception and relish of the compositions of others, though perhaps destitute of the active power of creating good poetry himself. This seems to be evidenced by the following letters to Drummond, which breathe strongly of that ardent affection, which we are apt to entertain towards distinguished literary personages whose writings have made a deep impression upon our minds.

" To HAWTHORNDEN,

" Sir,—That love I beare you hath mened me, with this passing beairr, to wreatt these few lynes, content thus in haist to salut you, in doing quhereof, altho I fullfill not the office of a frind, nevertheless I evedince the constancy of my affection. You may therefore returne something to reid : and, if necessity urge, imitat my brevity :

¹ A coal field at Cameron, in Fife.

² See Life of George Bannatyne.

altho I be bewitched with the neatness of your pieces, yet, finding heir in my salve consciens, I daire hardly be bold to crave a quoholl sheitt of you; howsoever, I will be yours quhill I am

"JA: BALFOUR."

"TO THE SAME,

"Sir,—You desyre of me quoholl sheitts, I must confess a symbol of our intrest affections. Bot I, consciens of my own imbecillity, rather prove a Laconick. No wounder altho my vaine be stopt, since this longe tyme you have not lanced it, either with the reiding of some of your pieces, or with so much as with a lyne of your hand. Whence, then, is it that you should become such a usurer to him that has not receved so long aney learnid annuity of you. Your starrie Urania, on the wings of a strong wind, flees by us, in every ones handes: quherfor, I intreid you, wold you have me deprived of it? Have you thought me dead to the Muses, that either I could not judge of it, or so dull that I could not praise it. In so doing, you have ditrogatt much from my genius, and daily conversatione. Nevertheless, in despight of your interdictione, I have gained a sight of it. I wold conceill my thoughts with silence. I wold be revenged, if the admiratione of your writtings did not breke all sense of injury; and though you scatter abroad your pieces (yet ceasse not to love me,) I sall enjoy them, though by the bountifull hand of ane other. Faire ye weill."

The poetical temperament of Sir James, and the courtly grace which generally is, and ever ought to be the accompaniment of that character, is further shown in the following epistle to a lady, which we consider a very elegant specimen of the English prose of the age of Charles I., and, indeed, singularly so, when the native country of the writer is considered:—

"TO A LADY FOR A FRIEND,

"Madam,—You must appardone me if, after the remembring of my best love to you, I should render you hardy thanks for your affections, since thanks are the best known blossomes of the hartes strongest desyres. I never, for my part, doubtit of your affections, bot persuadit myselve that so good a creature could never prove unconstant, and altho the fairest dayes may have some stormy overshadowings, yet I perswade myselve that these proceide not from heavenly thinges, bot from vapors arising from below, and though they for a tyme conte [ract] the sun's heat, yet make they that heat in the end to be more powerfull. I hope your friends sall have all the contentment that layes in my power to gif them: And, since Malice itselve can not judge of you bet noble, I wish that tyme make your affections als constant, as my harte sall ever prove, and remaine loyall; and lest I seime to weirey you more than myselve, again I must beg pardone for all my overnights (if you think of aney) wich will be a rare perfectione of goodness in you to furgive freely, and love constantly him quhosse greatest happines under heaven is always to leive and die

"Your trewly affectionat servant."

Sir James seems to have spent some of the years subsequent to 1636 in foreign countries, where he is said to have improved himself much by observing the manners of nations more polished than that to which he himself belonged, and by forming the acquaintance of eminent literary men. At the close of his continental travels, he spent some time in London, and obtained the friendship of the distinguished antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, and also of Sir William Segar, Garter King at Arms. He had now turned his attention to the study of heraldry, and the friendship of these men, which he obtained rather through the intense sympathy produced by a common taste for rare pursuits, than by the recommendations of others, was of material service in the completion of what might be called his professional education. He also contracted a literary acquaintance with Roger Dodsworth, and Sir William Dugdale, to whom he com-

municated several charters and other pieces of information regarding Scottish ecclesiastical antiquities, which they attached to their *Monasticon Anglicanum*, under the title, *Cænobia Scotica*, and which Sir James afterwards expanded into a distinct volume, under the title, *Monasticon Scoticum*, though, as Bishop Nicholson has remarked, it looked more like an index to such a work than the complete work itself. The friendship of Sir William Segar appears to have been of considerable influence in the direction of Balfour's course of life. He exerted himself to conciliate to his Scottish protégé, the respect of the college of heralds; and his efforts were crowned with such success, that, in 1628, that body presented to Balfour the following honourable diploma:

"To all and singular to whom thir presents shall come, Greeting: Sir William Segar, Sir Richard St George, and Sir John Barroughe, Garter, Clarentius, and Norroy, Kings of Arms; William Penson, Lancaster; Sir Henry St George, Richmond, etc. According to the laudable custome of nations, not to conceill that honour which is due to verteu and learning, We doe testifie and beare record, that James Balfour, Esq. by and attour his insicht and knowledge in diverse languages, has also singular good experience and knowledge in all antiquities and forraigne histories, but especiall in these concerning the illand of Great Britain and Irland; as also we testifie and does witness him to be ane expert and graduate herauld, in blazing of cotts and armories, in inventing of crests and supporters, in searching of genealogies and discentis, in marshalling of funeralls, triumphs and inaugurations, etc. and in all ceremonies whatsoever pertaining to honour or armes. In witness of the premisses, we above named, kings of armes, heraulds, and pursuivants, hes to this our present testificate and approbatione, with the several cotts of our armes, affixed our manuell subscriptions, at our office of armes in the cittie of London, Oct. 3, and Dec. 4, 1628."

Besides these antiquarian friends, Balfour secured several others of a more courtly complexion, who were natives of his own country. He enjoyed the friendship of Sir Robert Aytoun, the poetical courtier, with whom he afterwards became distantly connected by marriage. He was also on the most familiar terms with another poetical attendant on the elegant court of Charles I.—the Earl of Stirling.³ His chief patron, however, was George, Viscount Dupplin,⁴

³ We quote from his correspondence in the Advocates' Library, the two following letters to this distinguished nobleman:—

TO MY LORD VISCOUNT OF STREVELING, PRINCIPALL SECRETARY OF SCOTLAND.

My Lord,—I love your letters, because they bring with them still some matter of gladness. The retribution of your innumerable favors to me, are a few naked lynes, which, by the generosity of your noble mynd, are als much in esteeme with you as riches are to the most miserable world-mongers. According to your Lordship's command, I have, by my letters, humbly randred thanks to the Kingis Majestie, my master, altho ordinarily dayed in homely russett, yet doubled with the best tisaw, and full of the strong desires of ane ardent affectione, quhillks, at the reiding, your goodnes will extend one word of unanimity with me, and sympathize with thir gratulations as a patrone of their master: Then sall your lordship find that your favors hes beine putt upone ane quho will ever be myndful of the least of them, and remains a daily beadsman for the further increase of your health and honour. Fairwell, my lord.

Halyroodhouse, this 7 of March, 1631.

TO THE SAME,

My werrey noble good Lord,—This beair, my frind, as in a sure sanctuary, casts himselfe in the bosame of your patrociney; a man every way worthy of your respect; by profession a lover of nobility; quhose ingenious spirit and modest cariage betters his stock. If your lordship suspects my recommendatione as partiall, hes obsequious cariage and worthy pairs, after your triall, will make all good: So wishing your lordship all happiness, heir and for ever, I will live and die, Your lordship,

JA: BALFOUR.

Ed. 12 Mail, 1631.

⁴ Afterwards created Earl of Kinnoul, on the occasion of the coronation of King Charles at Edinburgh in 1633. Sir James Balfour relates the following curious anecdote of his

who held the high and almost vice-regal office of Chancellor of Scotland. By the recommendation of this nobleman, aided by his own excellent qualifications, he was created by Charles I., Lord Lion King at Arms, a dignified legal office in Scotland, in which resides the management of all matters connected with armorial honours, as also all public ceremonials. Sir Jerome Lyndsay having previously resigned the office, Balfour was crowned and installed at Holyroodhouse, June 15, 1630, having in the preceding month been invested with the necessary honour of knighthood by the king. On this occasion, Lord Dupplin officiated as Royal Commissioner.

Sir James Balfour now settled in Scotland, in the enjoyment of his office. On the 21st of October, he was married to Anna Aiton, daughter of Sir John Aiton of that ilk, and in January, 1631, he obtained, in favour of himself and his spouse, a grant of the lands and barony of Kinnaird in Fife. In December, 1633, he was created a baronet by Charles I., probably in consequence of the able manner in which he marshalled the processions and managed the other ceremonials of the royal visit that year. At this period of peace and prosperity, a number of learned and ingenious men were beginning to exert themselves in Scotland. It was a peaceful interval between the desolating civil wars of the minority of King James, and the equally unhappy contest which was soon after incited by religious and political dissensions. Like soldiers enjoying themselves during a truce, the people were beginning to seek for and cultivate various sources of amusement in the more elegant arts. This was the era of Jamieson, the painter—of Drummond, the poet—of the geographer Pont—and the historians Spottiswood, Calderwood, Johnston, and Hume.⁵ Sir James Balfour, inspired with the common spirit of these men, commenced the writing of history, with as much zeal as could be expected in an age, when, the printing of a written work being a comparatively rare occurrence, literature might be said to want the greater part of its temptations.

Sir James, as already mentioned, had been bred a strict Presbyterian. In this profession he continued to the last, notwithstanding that, in politics, he was an equally firm royalist. In a letter to a young nobleman, [*Correspondence, Advocates' Library,*] he is found advising a perusal of "Calvine, Beza, Parens, and Whittaker," as "orthodox writers." When the introduction of the liturgy imposed by Charles I. roused Scotland from one end to the other in a fit of righteous indignation, Sir James Balfour, notwithstanding his connection with the government, joined cordially with his countrymen, and wrote an account of the tumult of the 23rd of July, under the burlesque title of "Stoneyfield Day."⁶

lordship. The King, in 1626, had commanded, by a letter to his Privy Council, that the Archbishop of St Andrews should have precedence of the Chancellor. To this his lordship would never submit. "I remember," says Sir James, "that K. Charles sent me to the Lord Chancellor on the day of his coronation, in the morning, to show him that it was his will and pleasure, but onlie for that day, that he wold cede and give way to the archbishop; but he returned by me to his Majestie a very bruske answer, which was that he was ready in all humility to lay his office doune at his Majestie's feet; but since it was his royal will he should enjoy it with the known privileges of the same, never a priest in Scotland should sett a foot before him, so long as his blood was hote. Quhen I had related his answer to the kinge, he said, 'Weel, Lyone, letts goe to business: I will not medle farther with that olde cankered gootish man, at quhose hand ther is nothing to be gained bot soure words.'" What makes this anecdote the more expressively illustrative of the rancour with which the secular officers and nobility beheld the newly dignified clergy is, that the Lord Chancellor had just on the preceding afternoon been raised to the rank of Earl of Kinneoul.

⁵ David Hume of Godscroft, author of the History of the House of Douglas.

⁶ In a letter written on the 27th of July, to his friend Lord Elcho, he thus expresses himself regarding that extraordinary exertion of popular force:—

My Lord,—I know your suddain departure from this citey on Saturday was to see how they brought your light from darkness. Nather will I accuse you as privy to that ORAKNA our grate-held bishope had this bypast Saboth, from the tumultuous concors in welcom-

But, though indignant, in common with all people of his own persuasion, at the religious innovations attempted by the government, Sir James appears to have very soon adopted different feelings. Like many moderate persons, who had equally condemned the ill advised conduct of the king, he afterwards began to fear that the opposition would produce greater mischief than the evil which was opposed. He conceived that the people, in their indignation at the royal measures, had put themselves under a more slavish subjection to a band of ambitious nobles, who appeared determined to press upon the royal prerogative till they should leave no trace of the ancient government in the land. Thus, so early as May 1639, less than two years after the publication of "Stoneyfield Day," and while the popular leaders enjoyed an unlimited power, he is found addressing the following letter "to a noble friend."

Altho, my lord, you think perhaps I might gaine muche by silence, for my part I will never make question in speaking, quhen I have any thing in my head better than silence, and admonishe your lordship once again to bewarr of those men quho, furiously seeking to cry downe the present government, and to shake the fundamentall lawes of the kingdom, doe bot rather aim at ther owen particular advantages than redress of disorders, and since I have admonished your lordship quhat to eschew, I wold also gladly advyse you quhat were most sitting for your awen house and the preservation of your awen family to follow. And to cause, if I could, good lawes to aryse out of evill maneris were not I think it more fit to take tyme to deliberate upone a matter of such importance, and trewly, my lord, to speake heirin to purpose all the witt I have, joined to that of others, were no more than sufficient. In confidence of your lordship's pardon, and in assurance that ye will remaine constant to be my werrey good lord, I will heir subscribe myself,

Your lordship's most obliged servant.

Falkland, 9 May, 1639.

At a somewhat earlier date, he writes in the following terms to his friend Drummond, who, it will be recollected, was also a devoted loyalist:—

Sir,—By your letters, you aske how I live heir in winter, out of the capitall citey. I assure you, mured up within the royall wallis, expecting the sessone of primroses and anemonies. I am heir in a place of no curiosites. The sunne hath yet heat eneuche to dissolve our meadow snowes, which all the winter fall upon the neighbouring mountains. If ye wold have me to conceill nothing from you, I must freely tell you that there is no place quhar vertue is so neir to vice as heir. Idleness in this place

ing home their new devised liturgie to old St Gellies: Bot our day here begane to darken ere twelffe o'clocke, (a verrey short day in Julay indeed) and if we live to tell you, my lorde lykely to become a foule day, ver not our pryme churchmen had large breiches (happily) and nimble helles to save them from a stoney tempest, which at two severall tymes menaced, destructione to all, yet nibled the noddells of bot two or three. Nather could that lubardly monster with the satyn gounes defend himselfe by hes swollwen hands and gressey belly, bot he had half a dissonne neck fished to a reckoninge, and Maxwell becam so affrighted that to have been safely gone I verely think that he wold have left Arminius house, and run under the keyes of the batricane—nay, he that first vented here Christ's locall descension to hell, if he might have been liberat of feare, wold have (before his tyme) gone thither himselfe. Bot this day is fair wether, and ans indictione set on Edinburghe, for since the preceisse peopell will not sing ther prayers, our famous clergy will not suffer them to have any in prosse. Our weyffes heir inveighs [envy] your lordships happines, quho may pray publickly as the primitive fathers did, and say so be it, quheras ther gressey bellied fathers wold have them to sing Amen, and to usee maney vantone curtisies, bobbings, noddings, and kneellings, which this roughe and uncivill multitude have not been accustomed nor acquainted with—a world of such trash and trumphies as your lordship may behold landeit in ther New Alcoran. God bless our prince and all those that gives him healthfull counsaill, and as to these men quho only ambitiously hunts ther commodity and honor, God gif them the reward of that honorles persone, quho after he had betrayed his maker and master, hanged himselfe, and gif your lordship many happy dayes to be assured of the trowth, by which I own myselve to be,

Your lordships faithfull friind and servant.

being our honest mens ordinary creations, and debauches of all sortes the exercisess querein they dissipline themselves. Notwithstanding if ye be yett yourselfe, and by solemne vow have forsaken the world and the vanities thereof, assure yourselfe that it is in this place quher felicitie doth attend you, and being once in this place, you will esteeme all those as banished persons quhom you have left in Edin-burgh behind. Faire weill, and confidently love him quho sall ever bie,

Your treu friend and servant.

Falkland, January 8, 1639.

It thus appears that, in some disgust at the bold measures taken against the government, he had now retired to the royal hunting-palace of Falkland, where, and at his seat of Kinnaird, he devoted himself to those studies by which the present may be forgotten in the past. His annals, however, show that he still occasionally appeared in public affairs in his capacity of Lord Lion. It is also clear that his political sentiments must have been of no obtrusive character, as he continued in his office during the whole term of the civil war, and was only at last deprived of it by Cromwell. During his rural retirement at Falkland and Kinnaird, he collected many manuscripts relative to heraldry, and wrote many others in his own language, of which some are preserved in the Advocates' Library, while others were either lost at the capture of Perth (1651), to which town he had conveyed them for safety, or have since been dispersed. Persevering with particular diligence in illustrating the History of Scotland, he had recourse to the ancient charters and diplomas of the kingdom, the archives of monasteries, and registers of cathedral churches, and in his library was a great number of chronicles of monasteries, both originals and the abridgments; but it is to be deeply regretted that many of these valuable manuscripts fell a prey to the sacrilegious and illiterate, and were shamefully destroyed by the hands of children, or perished in the flames during the civil wars. A few only were opportunely rescued from destruction by those who were acquainted with their value. The style of these monastic chronicles was, indeed, rude and barbarous; but they were remarkable for the industry, judgment, and fidelity to truth, with which they were compiled. For some time after the erection of monasteries in this kingdom, these writers were almost the only, and certainly the most respectable observers in literature, as scarcely any other persons preserved in writing the memory of the important occurrences of the times. In these registers and chronicles were to be found, an accurate record of transactions with foreign powers, whether in forming alliances, contracting marriages of state, or regulating commerce; letters and bulls of the holy see; answers, edicts, and statutes of kings; church rescripts; provincial constitutions; acts of parliament; battles; deaths of eminent persons; epitaphs and inscriptions; and sometimes the natural appearances of the seasons; the prevalent diseases; miracles and prodigies; the heresies that sprung up; with an account of the authors, and their punishments. In short, they committed to writing every important occurrence in church and state, that any question arising in after ages might be settled by their authority, and the unanimous confirmation of their faithful and accurate chronicles. In collecting and preserving these manuscripts, Balfour therefore raised a monument to his memory which the latest posterity must revere. For he did so from a conviction that these old and approved authors were the only guides to the knowledge of facts, as well as to correct evidence, and reasoning on the remote history of Scotland; and he considered them, not only of signal use to himself, but a valuable treasure to the literature of the country. He therefore persevered throughout life in collecting such manuscripts, without regard to either trouble or expense. The catalogue which he left is still extant,* although many, as al-

ready mentioned, were lost by the depredations of the English and other causes. He formed with great industry, and at a considerable expense, a library of the most valuable books on every subject, particularly in the branches of Scottish history, antiquities, and heraldry. From these he extracted every assistance they could afford in the pursuit of his inquiries, and for further aid he established a correspondence with the most respectable living historians, such as Robert Maule, Henry Maule, David Buchanan, Gordon of Straloch, and, as has already been shown, Drummond of Hawthornden, all of whom he regarded through life with the warmest esteem, and with the greatest respect for their talents and accomplishments.

He endeavoured to elucidate our history (which was then involved in confusion) from the examination of ancient medals, coins, rings, bracelets, and other relics of antiquity, of which he formed a separate collection, as an appendage to his library. Observing also from historians, that the Romans had long been settled in Scotland, and had made desperate attempts to expel our ancestors, both Scots and Picts, he collected the inscriptions which they had left on certain stone buildings, and transcribed them among his notes. In compiling the work to which he gave the title of *Annals*, our author was more anxious to supply the deficiencies of other historians, and to bring to light obscure records, than to exhibit a continued and regular history of Scotland. He therefore carefully extracted, from old manuscripts, the names, dignities, and offices of distinguished public characters, the dates of remarkable transactions, and every other circumstance of importance, and arranged them in separate paragraphs. He was actuated by a generous disposition, to rescue from oblivion and the grave, the memory of illustrious men; for which purpose he visited all the cathedral, and the principal parish churches of the kingdom, and examined their sepulchres and other monuments, from which he copied the epitaphs and inscriptions, carefully preserving them in a volume. He deeply interested himself in some laudable attempts to improve the geography of Scotland. The ingenious Timothy Pont traversed the whole kingdom, (an attempt which had not been made before) and from personal surveys made plans and descriptions of the different counties and islands, which he was intending to publish, when carried off by a premature death. Sir John Scott of Scotstarvet put these papers into the hands of Straloch, by whom they were published, with corrections and additions, in the descriptions accompanying Bleau's maps. Sir James made also a survey of Fife, his native county, examining particularly ancient monuments, and the genealogies of the principal families. He afterwards compiled a description of the whole kingdom, of which the manuscript was so useful to Bleau, that he dedicated to our author the map of Lorne in his *Theatrum Scotiae*, and embellished it with the arms of Balfour.

Zealous in the improvement and knowledge of heraldry, he carefully reviewed, not only the public acts and diplomas of nobility, but the contents of ancient edifices, temples, and palaces, shields and sepulchral monuments. When it had become proper, from his years, to allow the Prince of Wales a separate establishment, an inquiry was ordered concerning the revenues of the hereditary princes, as steward or lords marshall of Scotland, in which Balfour appears to have taken part, as we find among his manuscripts the following; "The true present state of the principality of Scotland, with the means how the same may be most conveniently increased and augmented; with which is joined a survey, and brief notes from the public registers of the kingdoms, of certain infeudments and confirmations given to princes of Scotland; and by them to their vassals of diverse baronies and lands of the principalities, since the fifteenth year of the reign of Robert III."

In the history of this country, he displayed his uncommon industry in his numerous collection of manuscripts, in the great assemblage of historical works in his own library, and in his careful inspection of the various manuscripts dispersed over the kingdom, from which he generally extracted the substance, if he did not wholly transcribe them, forming a general index to such as were useful in Scottish history. He made several abridgments of the Registers of Scone, Cambruskenneth, and others, and from the works of Major, Boece, Leslie, and Buchanan, which, in proper order, formed parts of his chronological works, along with relations of important transactions throughout the world. Besides this, he wrote a remarkably concise yet comprehensive history of the kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to Charles I. He also intended to have enlarged the annals of the Scottish kings from James I. to the beginning of Charles II., of which he had finished the two first Jameses, on a more diffuse and extensive scale. In other works, he wrote memoirs of James III., IV., V., of Queen Mary, and of James VI.; and the transactions of Charles I., brought down to his death. In natural history, he wrote an alphabetical list of gems, with descriptions, their names and qualities, and the places where they are produced. Another work upon the same subject, written in Latin, exhibited from various authors, an account of ingenious inventions or frauds, practised in counterfeiting and imitating precious stones.

Sir James concluded an industrious, and, it would appear, a most blameless life, in February, 1657, when he must have been about sixty years of age. He had been four times married; 1st, to Anna Aiton, by whom he had three sons and six daughters, and who died August 26th, 1644; 2nd, to Jean Durham, daughter of the laird of Pitarrow, his own cousin, who died without issue only eleven months subsequent to the date of his first wife's death; 3d, to Margaret Arnot, only daughter of Sir James Arnot of Fernie, by whom he had three sons and three daughters; 4th, to Janet Auchinleck, daughter of Sir William Auchinleck of Balmanno, by whom he had two daughters. Yet his family is now extinct in the male line. The Annals and Short Passages of State, above alluded to, were, after nearly two centuries of manuscript obscurity, published, in 1824, in 4 volumes 8vo. by Mr James Haig of the Advocates' Library, in which receptacle nearly the whole of the collections of this great antiquary have found a secure resting-place.

BALFOUR, ROBERT, a distinguished philosopher of the seventeenth century, was principal of Guyenne college, Bourdeaux, and is mentioned by Morhof as a celebrated commentator on Aristotle. According to Dempster, he was "the Phoenix of his age; a philosopher profoundly skilled in the Greek and Latin languages; a mathematician worthy of being compared with the ancients: and to those qualifications he joined a wonderful suavity of manners, and the utmost warmth of affection towards his countrymen." This eminent personage appears to have been one of that numerous class of Scotsmen, who, having gained all their honours in climes more genial to science than Scotland was a few centuries ago, are to this day better known abroad than among their own countrymen. According to the fantastic Urquhart, who wrote in the reign of Charles I., "Most of the Scottish nation, never having astricted themselves so much to the proprieties of words as to the knowledge of things, where there was one preceptor of languages amongst them, there were above forty professors of philosophy: nay, to so high a pitch did the glory of the Scottish nation attain over all the parts of France, and for so long a time continue in that obtained height, by virtue of an ascendant the French conceived the Scots to have above all nations, in matter of their subtlety in philosophical disceptations, that there hath not been, till of late, for these several ages together, any lord, gentleman, or other, in all that

country, who being desirous to have his son instructed in the principles of philosophy, would intrust him to the discipline of any other than a Scottish master; of whom they were no less proud than Philip was of Aristotle, or Tullius of Cratippus. And if it occurred (as very often it did,) that a pretender to a place in any French university, having, in his tenderer years, been subfervent to some other kind of schooling, should enter in competition with another aiming at the same charge and dignity, whose learning flowed from a Caledonian source, commonly the first was rejected and the other preferred." It nevertheless appears that Robert Balfour prosecuted the study of philology, as well as that of philosophy, with considerable success. His edition of Cleomedes, published at Bourdeaux, in 1605, "*Latine versa, et perpetuo commentario illustrata*," is spoken of in the highest terms of praise by the erudite Barthius. Other works by Balfour are, "*Gelasii Cyziceni Commentarius Actorum Nicæni Concilii, Roberto Balforeo interprete*, 1604, folio,"—"Commentarius R. Balforei in Organum Logicum Aristotelis, 1616, 4to,"—and, "*R. Balforei Scoti Commentariorum in lib. Arist. de Philosophia, tomus secundus*, 1620, 4to."

BALIOL, Joun, king of Scotland, was the son of John de Baliol, of Bernard's Castle in the county of Durham, a man of great opulence, being possessed of thirty knights' fees, (equal to £12,000 of modern money,) and who was a steady adherent of Henry III., in all his civil wars. The mother of Baliol was Devorgilla, one of the three daughters and co-heiresses of Allan, Lord of Galloway, by Margaret, eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion, kings of Scotland. The first of the English family of Baliol was a Norman noble, proprietor of the manors of Baliol, Harcourt, Dampat, and Horne in France, and who, coming over with the Conqueror, left a son, Guy, whom William Rufus appointed to be Lord of the forest of Teesdale and Marwood, giving him at the same time the lands of Middleton and Guiseford in Northumberland. Guy was the father of Bernard, who built the strong castle on the Tees, called from him *Bernard's Castle*. Eustace, son of this noble, was the father of Hugh, who was the father of John de Baliol,¹ the father of the king of Scotland.

¹ John de Baliol has distinguished himself in English literary history, by founding one of the colleges of Oxford, which still bears his name. As this institution is connected in more ways than one with Scotland, the following account of its foundation, from Chalmers' History of Oxford, may be read with interest. "The wealth and political consequence of John de Baliol were dignified by a love of learning, and a benevolence of disposition, which, about the year 1263 (or 1266, as Wood thinks,) induced him to maintain certain poor scholars of Oxford, in number sixteen, by exhibitions, perhaps with a view to some more permanent establishment, when he should have leisure to mature a plan for that purpose. On his death, in 1269, which appears from this circumstance to have been sudden, he could only recommend the objects of his bounty to his lady and his executors, but left no written deed or authority: and as what he had formerly given was from his personal estate, now in other hands, the farther care of his scholars would in all probability have ceased, had not his lady been persuaded to fulfil his intention in the most honourable manner, by taking upon herself the future maintenance of them. * * * The first step which the Lady Devorgilla took, in providing for the scholars, was to have a house in Horsemonger Lane, afterwards called Canditch (from Candida Fossa) in St Mary Magdalene's parish, and on the site where the present college stands; and being supported in his design by her husband's executors, continued the provision which he allotted. In 1282, she gave them statutes under her seal, and appointed Hugh de Hartipoll and William de Menyle as procurators or governors of her scholars. In 1284, the Lady Devorgilla purchased a tenement of a citizen of Oxford, called Mary's Hall, as a perpetual settlement for the principal and scholars of the House of Baliol. This edifice, after receiving suitable repairs and additions, was called New Baliol Hall, and their former residence then began to receive the name of Old Baliol Hall. The same year, she made over certain lands in the county of Northumberland, the greater part of which was afterwards lost. The foundation, however, was about this time confirmed by Oliver, bishop of Lincoln, and by the son of the founder, who was afterwards king of Scotland, and whose consent in this matter seems to entitle him to the veneration of the society. * * * The revenues of the college were at first small, yielding only eight-pence per week to each scholar, or twenty-seven

The circumstances which led to the appearance of John Baliol in Scottish history, may be thus briefly narrated. By the death of Alexander the third, the crown of Scotland devolved on the Maiden of Norway, Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter, late Queen of Norway. As she was only three years of age, and residing in foreign parts, the convention of estates made choice of six noblemen to be regents of the kingdom during her absence or minority; but dissensions soon arising among them, Eric, king of Norway, interposed, and sent plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward king of England, concerning the affairs of the infant Queen and her kingdom. Edward had already formed a scheme for uniting England and Scotland, by the marriage of his eldest son with Margaret, and, accordingly, after holding conferences at Salisbury, he sent an embassy to the parliament of Scotland, on the 18th of July, 1290, with full powers to treat of this projected alliance. The views of Edward were cheerfully met by the parliament of Scotland: a treaty was drawn out honourable to both parties, in which—to guard against any danger that might arise from so strict an alliance with such a powerful and ambitious neighbour—the freedom and independence of Scotland were fully acknowledged and secured; and commissioners were despatched to Norway to conduct the young Queen into her dominions. But this fair hope of lasting peace and union was at once overthrown by the death of the princess on her passage to Britain; and the crown of Scotland became a bone of contention between various competitors, the chief of whom were, John Baliol, lord of Galloway, Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny. In order to understand the grounds of their several claims, it will be necessary to trace briefly their genealogy.

On the death of the Maiden of Norway, Alexander's grandchild, the crown of Scotland devolved upon the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon, younger brother, as already mentioned, of the kings Malcolm and William. David left three daughters, Margaret, Isabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldest daughter, married Allan, lord of Galloway, by whom she had an only daughter, Devorgilla, married to John Baliol, by whom she had John Baliol, the subject of this article, who, therefore, was great-grandson to David Earl of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter. Isabella, the second daughter of David, married Robert Bruce, by whom she had Robert Bruce, the competitor—who, therefore, was grandson to the Earl of Huntingdon, by his second daughter. Ada, youngest daughter of David, married John Hastings, by whom she had John Hastings—who, therefore, was grandson to David, by his third daughter. Hastings could have no claim to the crown, while the posterity of David's elder daughters were in being; but he insisted that the kingdom should be divided into three parts, and that he should inherit one of them. As, however, the kingdom was declared indivisible, his pretensions were excluded, and the difficulty of the question lay between the two great competitors Baliol and Bruce,—whether the more remote by one degree, descended from the eldest daughter, or the nearer by one degree, descended from the second daughter, had the better title?

The divided state of the national mind as to the succession presented a favourable opportunity to the ambitious monarch of England for executing a design which he had long cherished against the independence of Scotland, by renewing the unfounded claim of the feudal superiority of England over it. It has been

pounds nine shillings and fourpence for the whole *per annum*, which was soon found insufficient. A number of benefactors, however, promoted the purposes of the founder, by enriching the establishment with gifts of land, money, and church-livings."

Mr Chalmers also mentions, that in 1340 a new set of statutes for the college, received, amongst other confirmatory seals, that of "Edward Baliol, king of Scotland," namely, the grandson of the founder. The seal attached by Devorgilla to the original statutes contains a portrait of her. She died in 1289.

generally supposed, that he was chosen arbitrator by the regents and states of Scotland in the competition for the crown ; but it appears that his interference was solicited by a few only of the Scottish nobles who were in his own interest. Assuming this, however, as the call of the nation, and collecting an army to support his iniquitous pretensions, he requested the nobility and clergy of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham within the English territories. There, after many professions of good-will and affection to Scotland, he claimed a right of Lord Paramount over it, and required that this right should be immediately recognized. The Scots were struck with amazement at this unexpected demand ; but, feeling themselves entirely in his power, could only request time for the consideration of his claim. Another meeting was fixed upon ; and during the interval, he employed every method to strengthen his party in Scotland, and by threats and promises to bring as many as possible to acknowledge his superiority. His purpose was greatly forwarded by the mutual distrusts and jealousies that existed among the Scots, and by the time-serving ambition of the competitors, who were now multiplied to the number of thirteen—some, probably, stirred up to perplex the question, and others, perhaps, prompted by vanity. On the day appointed (2d June, 1291) in a plain opposite to the castle of Norham, the superiority of the crown of England over the crown of Scotland was fully acknowledged by all the competitors for the latter, as well as by many barons and prelates ; and thus Edward gained the object on which his heart had been long set, by conduct disgraceful to himself as it was to those who had the government and guardianship of Scotland in keeping. All the royal castles and places of strength in the country were put into his hands, under the security that he should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award, and with the ostensible reason that he might have a kingdom to bestow on the person to whom it should be adjudged. Having thus obtained his wish, he proceeded to take some steps towards determining the claim of the competitors. Commissioners were appointed to meet at Berwick ; and after various deliberations, the crown was finally adjudged to John Baliol, on the 19th of November, 1292, and next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham.

Baliol was crowned at Scone shortly after ; but, that he might not forget his dependancy, Edward recalled him into England, immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcastle. He was soon loaded with fresh indignities. In the course of a year he received no fewer than six citations to appear before Edward in the English parliament, to answer private and unimportant complaints which were preferred against him by his subjects. Although led by an insidious policy, and his own ambition, into the most humiliating concessions, Baliol seems not to have been destitute of spirit, or to have received without resentment the indignities laid upon him. In one of the causes before the parliament of England, being asked for his defence—"I am king of Scotland," he said, "I dare not make answer *here* without the advice of my people." "What means this refusal," said Edward, "you are my liegeman ; you have done homage to me ; you are here in consequence of my summons !" Baliol replied with firmness, "In matters which respect my kingdom, I neither dare nor shall answer in this place, without the advice of my people." Edward requested that he would ask a delay for the consideration of the question ; but Baliol, perceiving that his so doing would be construed into an acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the English parliament, refused.

In the meantime, a war breaking out between France and England, Baliol seized upon it as a favourable opportunity for shaking off a yoke that had become intolerable. He negotiated a treaty with Philip, the French king, on the 23d October, 1295, by which it was agreed to assist one another against their

common enemy the king of England, and not to conclude any separate peace. At the same time, Baliol solemnly renounced his allegiance to Edward, and received from the Pope an absolution from the oaths of fealty which he had sworn. The grounds of his renunciation were these—That Edward had wantonly and upon slight suggestions summoned him to his courts;—that he had seized his English estates, his goods, and the goods of his subjects;—that he had forcibly carried off and still retained certain natives of Scotland;—and that, when remonstrances were made, instead of redressing, he had continually aggravated these injuries. Edward is said to have received Baliol's renunciation with more contempt than anger. "The foolish traitor," he exclaimed, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." He accordingly raised a large army; and, sending his brother into France, resolved himself, in person, to make a total conquest of Scotland.

While Edward advanced towards Berwick, a small army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, and plundered the country. The castle of Werk was taken; and a thousand men, whom Edward sent to preserve it, falling into an ambush, were slain. An English squadron, also, which blocked up Berwick by sea, was defeated, and sixteen of their ships sunk. But these partial successes were followed by fatal losses. The king of England was a brave and skilful general; he conducted a powerful army against a weak and dispirited nation, headed by an unpopular prince, and distracted by party animosities. His eventual success was, therefore, as complete as might have been anticipated. He crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, took Berwick, and put all the garrison and inhabitants to the sword. The castle of Roxburgh was delivered into his hands; and he hastened Warrene Earl of Surrey forward to besiege Dunbar. Warrene was there met by the Scots army, who, abandoning the advantage or their situation, poured down tumultuously on the English, and were repulsed with terrible slaughter. After this defeat, the castles of Dunbar, Edinburgh, and Stirling, fell into Edward's hands, and he was soon in possession of the whole of the south of Scotland.

Baliol, who had retired beyond the river Tay, with the shattered remains of his army, despairing of making any effectual resistance, sent messengers to implore the mercy of Edward. The haughty Plantagenet communicated the hard terms upon which alone he might hope for what he asked; namely, an unqualified acknowledgment of his "unjust and wicked rebellion," and an unconditional surrender of himself and his kingdom into the hands of his master. Baliol, whose life presents a strange variety of magnanimous efforts and humiliating self-abasements, consented to these conditions; and the ceremony of his degradation accordingly took place, July 2, 1296, in the church-yard of Stracathro, a village near Montrose. Led by force and in fear of his life, into the presence of the Bishop of Durham and the English nobles, mounted on a sorry horse, he was first commanded to dismount; and his treason being proclaimed, they proceeded to strip him of his royal ornaments. The crown was snatched from his head; the ermine torn from his mantle, the sceptre wrested from his hand, and every thing removed from him belonging to the state and dignity of a king. Dressed only in his shirt and drawers, and holding a white rod in his hand, after the fashion of penitents, he confessed that, by evil and false counsel, and through his own simplicity, he had grievously offended his liege lord, recapitulated all the late transactions, and acknowledged himself to be deservedly deprived of his kingdom. He then absolved his people from their allegiance, and signed a deed resigning his sovereignty over them into the hands of king Edward, giving his eldest son as a hostage for his fidelity.

The acknowledgment of an English paramountcy has at all times been so dis-

agreeable to the Scottish people, and the circumstances of this renunciation of the kingdom are so extremely humiliating to national pride, that John Baliol has been ever since held in hatred and contempt, and is scarcely allowed a place in the ordinary rolls of the Scottish monarchs. It must be said, however, in his defence, that his first acknowledgment of the paramountcy was no more than what his rival Bruce and the greater part of the nobles of the kingdom were also guilty of; while he is certainly entitled to some credit for his efforts to shake off the yoke, however inadequate his means were for doing so, or whatever ill fortune he experienced in the attempt. In his deposition, notwithstanding some equivocal circumstances in his subsequent history, he must be looked upon as only the victim of an overwhelming force.

The history of John Baliol after his deposition is not in general treated with much minuteness by the Scottish historians, all of whom seem to have wished to close their eyes as much as possible to the whole affair of the resignation, and endeavoured to forget that the principal personage concerned in it had ever been king of Scotland. This history, however, is curious. The disrowned monarch and his son were immediately transmitted, along with the stone of Scone, the records of the kingdom, and all other memorials of the national independence to London, where the two unfortunate princes were committed to a kind of honourable captivity in the Tower. Though the country was reduced by the English army, several insurrections which broke out in the subsequent year showed that the hearts of the people were as yet unsubdued. These insurgents invariably rose in the name of the deposed king John, and avowed a resolution to submit to no other authority. It is also worth remarking, as a circumstance favourable to the claims and character of Baliol, that he was still acknowledged by the Pope, the King of France, and other continental princes. When Wallace rose to unite all the discontented spirits of the kingdom in one grand effort against the English yoke, he avowed himself as only the governor of the kingdom in name of King John, and there is a charter still extant, to which the hero appended the seal of Baliol, which seems, by some chance, to have fallen into his hands. The illustrious knight of Elderslie, throughout the whole of his career, acknowledged no other sovereign than Baliol; and, what is perhaps more remarkable, the father of Robert Bruce, who had formerly asserted a superior title to the crown, and whose son afterwards displaced the Baliol dynasty, appeared in arms against Edward in favour of King John, and in his name concluded several truces with the English officers. There is extant a deed executed on the 13th of November, 1299, by William, Bishop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, styling themselves guardians of the kingdom of Scotland; in which they petition King Edward for a cessation of hostilities, in order, as they afterwards expressed themselves, that they might live as peaceable subjects under their sovereign King John.

There is, however, no reason to suppose, that these proceedings were in accordance with any secret instructions from Baliol, who, if not glad to get quit of his uneasy sovereignty, at the time he resigned it, at least seems to have afterwards entertained no wish for its recovery. A considerable time before his insurgent representatives made the above declaration in his behalf, he is found executing a deed of the following tenor: "In the name of God, Amen. In the year 1298, on the 1st of April, in the house of the reverend father, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, without London. The said Bishop discoursing of the state and condition of the kingdom of Scotland, and of the inhabitants of the said kingdom, before the noble lord John Baliol; the said John, of his own proper motion, in the presence of us, the Notary, and the subscribing witnesses, amongst other things, said and delivered in the French tongue to this effect, that

is to say, that while he, the said realm of Scotland, as King and Lord thereof, held and governed, he had found in the people of the said kingdom so much malice, fraud, treason, and deceit, that, for their malignity, wickedness, treachery, and other detestable facts, and for that, as he had thoroughly understood, they had, while their prince, contrived to poison him, it was his intention never to go or enter into the said kingdom of Scotland for the future, or with the said kingdom or its concerns, either by himself or others, to intermeddle, nor for the reasons aforesaid, and many others, to have any thing to do with the Scots. At the same time, the said John desired the said Bishop of Durham, that he would acquaint the most magnificent prince, and his Lord, Edward, the most illustrious king of England, with his intention, will, and firm resolution in this respect. This act was signed and sealed by the public notary, in the presence of the Bishop of Durham aforesaid, and of Ralph de Sandwich, constable of the Tower of London, and others, who heard this discourse."¹

We regret for the honour of Scotland, that, excepting the *date* of this shameful libel, there is no other reason for supposing it to be dictated in an insincere spirit. Baliol now appears to have really entertained no higher wish than to regain his personal liberty, and be permitted to spend the rest of his days in retirement. Accordingly, having at last convinced King Edward of his sincerity, he and his son were delivered, on the 20th of July, 1299, to the Pope's legate, the Bishop of Vicenza, by whom they were transported to France. The unfortunate Baliol lived there upon his ample estates, till the year 1314, when he died at his seat of Castle Galliard, aged about fifty-five years. Though thus by no means advanced in life, he is said to have been afflicted with many of the infirmities of old age, among which was an entire deprivation of sight.

BALIOL, EDWARD. King John Baliol had two sons, Edward and Henry. The former seems entitled to some notice in this work, on account of his vigorous, though eventually unsuccessful attempt to regain the crown lost by his father. When King John entered into the treaty with the King of France, in 1295, it was stipulated in the first article that his son Edward should marry the daughter of Charles of Valois, niece to the French monarch, receiving with her twenty-five thousand livres de Tournois current money, and assigning to her, as a dowry, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling of yearly rent, of which one thousand should be paid out of King John's lands of Baliol, Dampier, Helicourt, and de Hornay, in France, and five hundred out of those of Lanark, Cadiou, Cunningham,² Haddington, and the Castle of Dundee, in Scotland. This young prince accompanied his father in his captivity in the Tower, and was subsequently carried with him to France. After the death of John Baliol, Edward quietly succeeded to the French family estates, upon which he lived unnoticed till 1324, when Edward II. commanded that he should be brought over to England, apparently for the purpose of being held up as a rival to Robert Bruce. Whether he now visited England or not is uncertain; but it would rather appear that he did not, as, in 1326, he was invited by Edward III. for the same purpose. At this time, the English monarch was endeavouring to secure a peace with the King of Scots, but at the same time held himself prepared for war by mustering his barons at Newcastle. He seems to have thought that a threat of taking Baliol under his patronage was apt to quicken the desires of the Scots for an accommodation. Nevertheless, in the summer of this

¹ Prynn's Collections, iii. 665.

² "John Baliol is known to have possessed in Cunningham the following lands: Largs, Noddesdale, Southannan, Dalry, Giffin, Cumsheuch, Dreghorn, the great barony of Kilmarnock, together with Bondinton and Hartshaw; extending in all to about 1,900 Scots of valued rent, or about £15,000 real rent at present."—*Robertson's Ayrshire Families*.

year, the Scots made a bold and successful incursion into England, under Randolph and Douglas, and King Edward was obliged, April 1328, to consent to the treaty of Northampton, which acknowledged at once the independency of the Scottish crown, and the right of Robert Bruce to wear it. No more is heard of Edward Baliol, till after the death of Bruce, when he was tempted by the apparent weakness of Scotland under the minority of David II. to attempt the recovery of his birth-right. Two English barons, Henry de Beaumont and Thomas Lord Wake, claimed certain estates in Scotland, which had been declared their property by the treaty of Northampton; Randolph, the Scottish regent, distrusting the sincerity of the English in regard to other articles of this treaty, refused to restore those estates; and the two barons accordingly joined with Baliol in his design. That the English king might not be supposed accessory to so gross a breach of the treaty, he issued a proclamation against their expedition; but they easily contrived to ship four hundred men at arms and three thousand infantry at Holderness, all of whom were safely landed on the coast of Fife, July 31, 1332. Only eleven days before this event, the Scottish people had been bereft of their brave regent, Randolph Earl of Moray, who was almost the last of those worthies by whom the kingdom of Bruce had been won and maintained. The regency fell into the hands of Donald, Earl of Mar, in every respect a feebler man. Baliol, having beat back some forces which opposed his landing, moved forward to Forteviot, near Perth; where the Earl of Mar appeared with an army to dispute his farther progress. As the Scottish forces were much superior in number and position to the English, Baliol found himself in a situation of great jeopardy, and would willingly have retreated to his ships, had that been possible. Finding, however, no other resource than to fight, he led his forces at midnight across the Erne, surprised the Scottish camp in a state of the most disgraceful negligence, and put the whole to the route. This action, fought on the 12th of August, was called the battle of Dupplin. The conqueror entered Perth, and for some time found no resistance to his assumed authority. On the 24th of September, he was solemnly crowned at Scone. The friends of the line of Bruce, though unable to offer a formal opposition, appointed Andrew Moray of Bothwell to be regent in the room of the Earl of Mar, who had fallen at Dupplin. At Roxburgh, on the 23rd of November, Baliol solemnly acknowledged Edward of England for his *liege lord*, and surrendered to him the town and castle of Berwick, "on account of the great honour and emoluments which he had procured through the good will of the English king, and the powerful and acceptable aid contributed by his people." The two princes also engaged on this occasion to aid each other in all their respective wars. Many of the Scottish chiefs now submitted to Baliol, and it does not appear improbable that he might have altogether retrieved a kingdom which was certainly his by the laws of hereditary succession. But on the 15th of December, the adherents of the opposite dynasty surprised him in his turn at Annan, overpowered his host, and having slain his brother Henry, and many other distinguished men, obliged him to fly, almost naked, and with hardly a single attendant, to England. His subsequent efforts, though not so easily counteracted, were of the same desultory character. He returned into Scotland in March, and lay for some time at Roxburgh, with a small force. In May, 1333, he joined forces with King Edward, and reduced the town of Berwick. The Scottish regent being overthrown at Halidon Hill, July 19, for a time all resistance to the claims of Baliol ceased. In a parliament held at Edinburgh in February, he ratified the former treaty with King Edward, and soon after surrendered to that monarch the whole of the counties on the frontier, together with the province of Lothian, as part of the kingdom of England. His power,

however, was solely supported by foreign influence, and, upon the rise of a few of the opposite hostile barons, in November, 1334, he again fled to England. In July, 1335, Edward III. enabled him to return under the protection of an army. But, notwithstanding the personal presence and exertions of no less a warrior than the victor of Cressy, the Scots never could altogether be brought under the sway of this vassal king. For two or three years, Edward Baliol held a nominal sway at Perth, while the greater part of the country was in a state of rebellion against him. The regent Andrew Moray, dying in July, 1338, was succeeded by Robert Stewart, the grandson of Bruce, and nephew of David II. who having threatened to besiege Baliol in Perth, obliged him to retreat once more to England. The greater part of the country speedily fell under the dominion of the regent, nor was Edward III. now able to retrieve it, being fully engaged in his French wars. The Scots having made an incursion, in 1344, into England, Baliol, with the forces of the northern counties, was appointed to oppose them. Two years after this period, when the fatal battle of Durham, and the capture of David II. had again reduced the strength of Scotland, Baliol raised an insurrection in Galloway, where his family connections gave him great influence, and speedily penetrated to the central parts of the kingdom. He gained, however, no permanent footing. For some years after this period, Scotland maintained a noble struggle, under its regent Robert Stewart, against both the pretensions of this adventurer, and the power of the King of England, till at length, in 1355-6, wearied out with an unavailing contest, and feeling the approach of old age, Baliol resigned all his claims into the hands of Edward III. for the consideration of five thousand merks, and a yearly pension of two thousand pounds. After this surrender, which was transacted at Roxburgh, and included his personal estates, as well as his kingdom, this unfortunate prince retired to England. "The fate of Edward Baliol," says Lord Hailes, "was singular. In his invasion of Scotland during the minority of David Bruce, he displayed a bold spirit of enterprise, and a courage superior to all difficulties. By the victory at Dupplin, he won a crown; some few weeks after, he was surprised at Annan and lost it. The overthrow of the Scots at Halidon, to which he signally contributed, availed not to his re-establishment. Year after year, he saw his partisans fall away, and range themselves under the banner of his competitor. He became the pensioner of Edward III. and the tool of his policy, assumed or laid aside at pleasure: and, at last, by his surrender at Roxburgh, he did what in him lay to entail the calamities of war upon the Scottish nation, a nation already miserable through the consequences of a regal succession disputed for threescore years. The remainder of his days was spent in obscurity; and the historians of that kingdom where he once reigned, know not the time of his death." It may further be mentioned, that neither these historians nor the Scottish people at large, ever acknowledged Edward Baliol as one of the line of Scottish monarchs. The right of the family of Bruce, though inferior in a hereditary point of view, having been confirmed by parliament on account of the merit of King Robert, this shadowy intruder, though occasionally dominant through the sword, could never be considered the legitimate monarch, more especially as he degraded himself and his country by a professed surrender of its independence, and even of a part of its territory, to a foreign enemy. He died childless, and, it would also appear, unmarried, in 1363, when he must have been advanced to at least the age of seventy.

BALLANTYNE, JOHN. Of all the remarkable men, by whom this name, in its various orthographical appearances, has been borne, not the least worthy of notice is John Ballantyne, who died on the 16th of June, 1821, about the age of forty-five years. This gentleman was the son of a merchant at Kelso, where he

was born and educated. In his youth, he displayed such an extraordinary quickness of mind, as sufficiently betokened the general ability by which he was to be distinguished in after life. While still a young man, his mind was turned to literary concerns by the establishment of a provincial newspaper, the *Kelso Mail*, which was begun by his elder brother James. The distinction acquired by his brother in consequence of some improvements in printing, by which there issued from a Scottish provincial press a series of books rivalling, in elegance and accurate taste, the productions of a Bensley or a Baskerville, caused the removal of both to Edinburgh about the beginning of the present century. But the active intellect of John Ballantyne was not to be confined to the dusky shades of the printing-house. He embarked largely in the bookselling trade, and subsequently in the profession of an auctioneer of works of art, libraries, &c. The connection which he and his brother had established at Kelso with Sir Walter Scott, whose *Border Minstrelsy* was printed by them, continued in this more extensive scene, and accordingly during the earlier and more interesting years of the career of the author of *Waverley*, John Ballantyne acted as the confidant of that mysterious writer, and managed all the business of the communication of his works to the public. Some of these works were published by John Ballantyne, who also issued two different periodical works, written chiefly by Sir Walter Scott, entitled respectively the *Visionary* and the *Saleroom*, of which the latter had a reference to one branch of Mr Ballantyne's trade. It is also worthy of notice, that the large edition of the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, which appeared under the name of Mr Henry Weber as editor, and which, we may presume to say, reflects no inconsiderable credit upon the Scottish press, was an enterprise undertaken at the suggestion and risk of this spirited publisher. Mr Ballantyne himself made one incursion into the field of letters: he was the author of a tolerably sprightly novel in two thin duodecimos, styled, "The Widow's Lodgings," which reached a second edition, and by which, as he used to boast in a jocular manner, he made no less a sum than *thirty pounds*! It was not, however, as an author that Mr Ballantyne chiefly shone—his forte was story-telling. As a *conteur*, he was allowed to be unrivalled by any known contemporary. Possessing an infinite fund of ludicrous and characteristic anecdote, which he could set off with a humour endless in the variety of its shades and tones, he was entirely one of those beings who seem to have been designed by nature for the task, now abrogated, of enlivening the formalities and alleviating the cares of a court: he was Yorick revived. After pursuing a laborious and successful business for several years, declining health obliged him to travel upon the continent, and finally to retire to a seat in the neighbourhood of Melrose. He had been married, at an early age, to Miss Parker, a beautiful young lady, a relative of Dr Rutherford, author of the *View of Ancient History* and other esteemed works. This union was not blessed with any children. In his Melrose rustication, he commenced the publication of a large and beautiful edition of the *British Novelists*, as an easy occupation to divert the languor of illness, and fill up those vacancies in time, which were apt to contrast disagreeably with the former habits of busy life. The works of the various novelists were here amassed into large volumes, to which Sir Walter Scott furnished biographical prefaces. But the trial was brief. While flattering himself with the hope that his frame was invigorated by change of air and exercise, death stepped in, and reft the world of as joyous a spirit as ever brightened its sphere. The *Novelist's Library* was afterwards completed by the friendly attention of Sir Walter Scott.

BALLENTYNE, (OR BELLENDEN,) JOHN,—otherwise spelt Ballanden and Ballantyn—an eminent poet of the reign of James V., and the translator of Boece's

Latin History, and of the first five books of Livy, into the vernacular language of his time, was a native of Lothian, and appears to have been born towards the close of the 15th century. He studied at the university of St Andrews, where his name is thus entered in the records: "1508, *Jo. Ballelyn nac. Lau* [*donie*]." It is probable that he remained there for several years, which was necessary before he could be laureated. His education was afterwards completed at the university of Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Divinity; and as has been remarked by his biographer, [*Works of Bellenden, l., xxxvii.*] "the effects of his residence upon the continent may be traced both in his idiom and language."

He returned to Scotland during the minority of James V., and became attached to the establishment of that monarch as "Clerk of his Comptis." This appears from "the Proheme of the Cosmographie," prefixed to his translation of Boece, in which he says:—

And first occurrit to my remembering,
How that I wes in service with the king;
But to his grace in yeris tenderest,
Clerk of his compts, thought I wes indign [unworthy,]
With hart and hand and every other thing
That micht him pleis in my maner best;
Quhill hie invy me from his service kest,
Be thame that had the court in governing,
As bird but plumes heryit of the nest.

The biographer of Ballentyne, above quoted, supposes that he must have been the "Maister Johnne Ballentyne," who, in 1528, was "secretar and servitour" to Archibald Earl of Angus, and in that capacity appeared before parliament to state his master's reasons for not answering the summons of treason which had been issued against him. We can scarcely, however, reconcile the circumstance of his being then a "Douglas's man," with the favour he is found to have enjoyed a few years after with James V., whose antipathy to that family was so great as probably to extend to all its connections. However this may be, Ballentyne is thus celebrated, in 1530, as a court poet, by Sir David Lyndsay, who had been in youth his fellow-student at St Andrews, and was afterwards his fellow-servant in the household of the king:

But now of late has start up heastily
A cunning clerk that writeth craftily;
A plant of poets, called *Ballanten*,
Whose ornat writs my wit cannot defyne;
Get he into the court authority,
He will precel Quintin and Kenedy.

In 1530 and 1531, Ballentyne was employed, by command of the king, in translating Boece's History, which had been published at Paris in 1526. The object of this translation was to introduce the king and others who had "missed their Latin," to a knowledge of the history of their country. In the epistle to the king at the conclusion of this work, Bellenden passes a deserved compliment upon his majesty, for having "dantit this region and brocht the same to sicken rest, gud peace and tranquillity; howbeit the same could nocht be done be your gret baronis during your tender age;" and also says, without much flattery, "Your nobill and worthy deidis proceeds mair be naturall inclination and active curage, than ony gudly persuasioun of assisteria." He also attests his own sincerity, by a lecture to the king on the difference between tyrannical and just government; which, as a curious specimen of the prose composition of that time,

and also a testimony to the enlightened and upright character of Ballentyne, we shall extract into these pages:

"As Seneca says in his tragedeis, all ar nocht kingis that bene cloithit with pure and dredoure, but only they that sekis na singulare proffet, in dammage of the commonweill; and sa vigilant that the life of their subdettis is mair deir and precious to them than thair awin life. Ane tyrane sekis riches; ane king sekis honour, conquest be virtew. Ane tyrane governis his realmis be slauchter, dredoure, and falsset; ane king gidis his realme be prudence, integrite, and favour. Ane tyrane suspekis all them that hes riches, gret dominioun, auctorite, or gret rentis; ane king haldis sic men for his maist helply friendis. Ane tyrane luffis nane bot vane fleschouris, vicious and wicket lymmaris, be quhaiis counsall he rages in slauchter and tyranny; ane king luffis men of wisdom, gravite, and science; knowing weill that his gret materis maybe weill dressit be thair prudence. Treuth is that kingis and tyrannis hes mony handis, mony one, and mony mo memberis. Ane tyrane sets him to be dred; ane king to be luffet. Ane tyrane rejoises to mak his pepill pure; ane king to mak thame riche. Ane tyrane draws his pepill to sindry factiones, discord, and hatrent; ane king maks peace, tranquillite, and concord; knowing nothing sa dammagious as division amang his subdittis. Ane tyrane confounds all divine and hummane lawis; ane king observis thaim, and rejoises in equite and justice. All thir properteis sal be patent, in reding the livis of gud and evil kingis, in the history precedent."

To have spoken in this way to an absolute prince shows Ballentyne to have been not altogether a courtier.

He afterwards adds, in a finely impassioned strain:—"Quhat thing maybe mair plesand than to se in this present volume, as in ane cleir mirroure all the variance of tyme bygane; the sindry chancis of fourtoun; the bludy fechtung and terrible berganis sa mony years continuit, in the defence of your realm and liberte; quhilk is fallen to your hienes with gret felicity, howbeit the samin has aftimes been ransomit with maist nobill blude of your antecessoris. Quhat is he that wil nocht rejoice to heir the knychtly afaris of thay forcy campions, King Robert Bruce and William Wallace? The first, be innative desyre to recover his realme, wes brocht to sic calamite, that mony dayis he durst nocht appeir in sight of pepill; but amang desertis, levand on rutes and herbis, in esperance of better fortoun; bot at last, be his singulare manheid, he come to sic preeminent gloire, that now he is reput the maist valyeant prince that was eftir or before his empire. This other, of small beginning, be feris curage and corporall strength, not only put Englishmen out of Scotland, but als, be feir of his awful visage, put Edward king of England to flight; and held all the borders forne Scotland waist."

Ballentyne delivered a manuscript copy of his work to the king, in the summer of 1533, and about the same time he appears to have been engaged in a translation of Livy. The following entries in the treasurer's book give a curious view of the prices of literary labour, in the court of a king of those days.

"To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chronykill, £30.

"1531, Oct. 4th. To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his translating of the Chronickis, £30.

"Item, Thairefter to the said Maister Johne, be the kingis command, £6.

"1533, July 26. To Maister John Ballentyne, for ane new Chronikle gevin to the kingis grace, £12.

"Item, To him in part payment of the translation of Titus Livius, £8.

"—Aug. 24. To Maister John Ballentyne, in part payment of the second buke of Titus Livius, £8.

"—Nov. 30. To Maister John Ballentyne, be the kingis precept, for his laboris dune in translating of Livie, £20.

The literary labours of Ballentyne were still further rewarded by his royal master, with an appointment to the archdeanery of Moray, and the escheated property and rents of two individuals, who became subject to the pains of treason for having used influence with the Pope to obtain the same benefice, against the king's privilege. He subsequently got a vacant prebendaryship in the cathedral of Ross. His translation of Boece was printed in 1536, by Thomas Davidson, and had become in later times almost unique, till a new edition was published in a remarkably elegant style, in 1821, by Messrs Tait, Edinburgh. At the same time appeared the translation of the first two books of Livy, which had never before been printed. The latter work seems to have been carried no further by the translator.

Ballentyne seems to have lived happily in the sunshine of court favour during the remainder of the reign of James V. The opposition which he afterwards presented to the reformation, brought him into such odium, that he retired from his country in disgust, and died at Rome, about the year 1550.

The translations of Ballentyne are characterised by a striking felicity of language, and also by a freedom that shows his profound acquaintance with the learned language upon which he wrought. His *Chronicle*, which closes with the reign of James I., is rather a paraphrase than a literal translation of Boece, and possesses in several respects the character of an original work. Many of the historical errors of the latter are corrected—not a few of his redundancies retrenched—and his more glaring omissions supplied. Several passages in the work are highly elegant, and some descriptions of particular incidents reach to something nearly akin to the sublime. Many of the works of Ballenden are lost—among others a tract on the Pythagoric letter, and a discourse upon Virtue and Pleasure. He also wrote many political pieces, the most of which are lost. Those which have reached us are principally *Proems* prefixed to his prose works, a species of composition not apt to bring out the better qualities of a poet; yet they exhibit the workings of a rich and luxuriant fancy, and abound in lively sallies of the imagination. They are generally allegorical, and distinguished rather by incidental beauties, than by the skilful structure of the fable. The story, indeed, is often dull, the allusions obscure, and the general scope of the piece unintelligible. These faults, however, are pretty general characteristics of allegorical poets, and they are atoned for, in him, by the striking thoughts and the charming descriptions in which he abounds, and which, "like threds of gold, the rich arras, beautify his works quite thorow."

BALNAVES, HENRY, of Halhill, an eminent lay reformer, and also a prose-writer of some eminence, was born of poor parents in the town of Kirkcaldy. After an academical course at St Andrews, he travelled to the continent, and, hearing of a free school in Cologne, procured admission to it, and received a liberal education, together with instruction in protestant principles. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, and acted for some time as a procurator at St Andrews. In the year 1538, he was appointed by James V. a senator of the college of Justice, a court only instituted five years before. Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, who hated him on account of his religious sentiments, he was employed on important embassies by James V., and subsequently by the governor Arran, during the first part of whose regency he acted as secretary of state. Having at length made an open profession of the Protestant religion, he was, at the instigation of Arran's brother, the Abbot of

Paisley, dismissed from that situation. He now appears to have entered into the interests of the English party against the governor, and accordingly, with the Earl of Rothes and Lord Gray, was thrown into Blackness Castle (November 1543), where he probably remained till relieved next year, on the appearance of the English fleet in the Firth of Forth. There is much reason to believe that this sincere and pious man was privy to the conspiracy formed against the life of Cardinal Beaton; an action certainly not the brightest in the page of Scottish history, but of which it is not too much to say, that it might have been less defensible if its motive had not been an irregular kind of patriotism. Balnaves, though he did not appear among the actual perpetrators of the assassination, soon after joined them in the castle of St Andrews, which they held out against the governor. He was consequently declared a traitor and excommunicated. His principal employment in the service of the conspirators seems to have been that of an ambassador to the English court. In February 1546-7, he obtained from Henry VIII. a subsidy of £1180, besides a quantity of provisions, for his compatriots, and a pension of £125 to himself, which was to run from the 25th of March. On the 15th of this latter month, he had become bound along with his friends, to deliver up Queen Mary, and also the castle of St Andrews, into the hands of the English; and, in May, he obtained a further sum of £300. While residing in the castle, he was instrumental, along with Mr John Rough and Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, in prevailing upon John Knox to preach publicly in St Andrews—the first regular ministration in the reformed religion in Scotland.

When the defenders of the castle surrendered in August, Balnaves shared in their fate, along with Knox, and many other eminent persons. He was conveyed to the castle of Rouen in France, and there committed to close confinement. Yet he still found occasional opportunities to communicate with his friend Knox. Having employed himself, during his solitary hours, in composing a *Treatise on Justification*, he conveyed it to the reformer, who was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, added some marginal notes and a concise epitome of its contents, and prefixed a commendatory dedication, intending that it should be published in Scotland as soon as opportunity offered. This work fell aside for some years, but, after Knox's death, was discovered in the house of Ormiston by Richard Bannatyne, and was published at Edinburgh, in 1584, under the title of "*The Confession of Faith, containing, how the troubled man should seek refuge at his God, thereto led by Faith; &c., Compiled by M. Henrie Balnaves of Halhill, one of the Lords of Session and counsell of Scotland, being as prisoner within the old pallaice of Roane, in the year of our Lord, 1548. Direct to his faithful brethren being in like trouble or more, and to all true professors and favourers of the syncere worde of God.*" Dr M'Crie has given some extracts from this work in his *Life of John Knox*. After his return from banishment, Balnaves took a bold and conspicuous part in the contest carried on by the lords of the congregation against the Regent Mary. He was one of the commissioners, who, in February, 1559-60, settled the treaty at Berwick, between the former insurgent body and the Queen of England, in consequence of which the Scottish reformation was finally established, through aid from a country always heretofore the bitterest enemy of Scotland. In 1563, he was re-appointed to the bench, and also nominated as one of the commissioners for revising the Book of Discipline. He acted some years later, along with Buchanan and others, as counsellors to the Earl of Murray, in the celebrated inquiry by English and Scottish commissioners into the alleged guilt of Queen Mary. He died, according to Mackenzie, in 1579.

"In his *Treatise upon Justification*," says the latter authority, "he affirms that

the justification spoken of by St James is different from that spoken of by St Paul : For the justification by good works, which St James speaks of, only justifies us before man ; but the justification by faith, which St Paul speaks of, justifies us before God : And that all, yea even the best of our good works, are but sins before God."

"And," adds Mackenzie, with true Jacobite sarcasm, "whatever may be in this doctrine of our author's, I think we may grant to him that the most of all his actions which he valued himself upon, and reckoned good works, *were really great and heinous sins before God*, for no good man will justify rebellion and murder."

Without entering into the controversies involved by this proposition, either as to the death of Cardinal Beaton, or the accusations against Queen Mary, we may content ourselves with quoting the opinion entertained of Balnaves by the good and moderate Melville ; he was, according to this writer, "a godly, learned, wise, and long experimented counsellor." 'A poem' by Balnaves, entitled, "An advice to headstrong Youth," is selected from Bannatyne's manuscript into the *Evergreen*.

BANNATYNE, GEORGE, takes his title to a place in this work from a source of fame participated by no other individual within the range of Scottish biography ; it is to this person that we are indebted for the preservation of nearly all the productions of the Scottish poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though the services he has thus rendered to his country were in some measure the result of accident, yet it is also evident that, if he had not been a person of eminent literary taste, and also partly a poet himself, we should never have had to celebrate him as a collector of poetry. The compound claim which he has thus established to our notice, and the curious antique picture which is presented to our eye by even the little that is known regarding his character and pursuits, will, it is hoped, amply justify his admission into this gallery of eminent Scotsmen.

George Bannatyne was born in an elevated rank of society. His father, James Bannatyne, of the Kirktown of Newtyle, in the county of Forfar, was a writer in Edinburgh, at a time when that profession must have been one of some distinction and rarity ; and he was probably the person alluded to by Robert Sample, in "The Defens of Grissell Sandylands :"—

"For men of law I wait not quhair to luke :
James Bannatyne was anis a man of skill."

It also appears that James Bannatyne held the office of *TABULAR* to the Lords of Session, in which office his eldest son (afterwards a Lord of Council and Session) was conjoined with him as successor, by royal precept dated May 2, 1583. James Bannatyne is further ascertained to have been connected with the very ancient and respectable family of Bannachtyne, or Bannatyne of Camys, [now Kames] in the island of Bute. He was the father, by his wife Katharine Tailiefer, of twenty-three children, nine of whom, who survived at the time of his death, in 1583, were "weill, and sufficiently provydit be him, under God."

George Bannatyne, the seventh child of his parents, was born on the 22nd day of February, 1545, and was bred up to trade.¹ It is, however, quite uncer-

¹ In a memoir of George Bannatyne, by Sir Walter Scott, prefixed to a collection of memorabilia regarding him, which has been printed for the Bannatyne Club, it is supposed that he was not early engaged in business. But this supposition seems only to rest on an uncertain inference from a passage in George Bannatyne's "Memoriall Buik," where it is mentioned that Katharine Tailiefer, at her death in 1570, left behind her eleven children, of whom eight were as yet "unput to profit." On a careful inspection of the family notices in this "memoriall buik," it appears as likely that George himself was one of those already "put to profit" as otherwise, more especially considering that he was then twenty-five years of age. I.

tain at what time he began to be engaged in business on his own account, or whether he spent his youth in business or not. Judging, however, as the world is apt to judge, we should suppose, from his taste for poetry, and his having been a writer of verses himself, that he was at least no zealous applicant to any commercial pursuit. Two poems of his, written before the age of twenty-three, are full of ardent though conceited affection towards some fair mistress, whom he describes in the most extravagantly complimentary terms. It is also to be supposed that, at this age, even though obliged to seek some amusement during a time of necessary seclusion, he could not have found the means to collect, or the taste to execute, such a mass of poetry as that which bears his name, if he had not previously been almost entirely abandoned to this particular pursuit. At the same time, there is some reason to suppose that he was not altogether an idle young man, given up to vain fancies, from the two first lines of his valedictory address at the end of his collection :

"Heir ends this Bulk writtin in tyme of pest,
Quhen we fra labor was compel'd to rest."

Of the transaction on which the whole fame of George Bannatyne rests, we give the following interesting account from the Memoir just quoted :—

"It is seldom that the toils of the amanuensis are in themselves interesting or that, even while enjoying the advantages of the poor scribe's labour, we are disposed to allow him the merit of more than mere mechanical drudgery. But in the compilation of George Bannatyne's manuscript, there are particulars which rivet our attention on the writer, and raise him from a humble copyist into a national benefactor.

"Bannatyne's Manuscript is in a folio form, containing upwards of eight hundred pages, very neatly and closely written, and designed, as has been supposed, to be sent to the press. The labour of compiling so rich a collection was undertaken by the author during the time of pestilence, in the year 1568, when the dread of infection compelled men to forsake their usual employments, which could not be conducted without admitting the ordinary promiscuous intercourse between man and his kindred men.

"In this dreadful period, when hundreds, finding themselves surrounded by danger and death, renounced all care save that of selfish precaution for their own safety, and all thoughts save apprehensions of infection, George Bannatyne had the courageous energy to form and execute the plan of saving the literature of a whole nation; and, undisturbed by the universal mourning for the dead, and general fears of the living, to devote himself to the task of collecting and recording the triumphs of human genius;—thus, amid the wreck of all that was mortal, employing himself in preserving the lays by which immortality is at once given to others, and obtained for the writer himself. His task, he informs us, had its difficulties; for he complains that he had, even in his time, to contend with the disadvantage of copies old, maimed, and mutilated, and which long before our day must, but for this faithful transcriber, have perished entirely. The very labour of procuring the originals of the works which he transcribed, must have been attended with much trouble and some risk, at a time when all the usual intercourse of life was suspended, and when we can conceive that even so simple a circumstance as the borrowing and lending a book of ballads, was accompanied with some doubt and apprehension, and that probably the suspected volume was subjected to fumigation, and the precautions used in quarantine."

* With deference to Sir Walter, we would suggest that the suspicion under which books are always held at a time of pestilence, as a means of conveying the infection, gives great reason to suppose that George Bannatyne had previously collected his original manuscripts, and only took this opportunity of transcribing them. The writing of eight hundred folio

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"In the reign of James IV. and V., the fine arts, as they awakened in other countries, made some progress in Scotland also. Architecture and music were encouraged by both of those accomplished sovereigns; and poetry above all, seems to have been highly valued at the Scottish court. The King of Scotland, who, in point of power, seems to have been little more than the first baron of his kingdom, held a free and merry court, in which poetry and satire seem to have had unlimited range, even where their shafts glanced on royalty itself. The consequence of this general encouragement was the production of much poetry of various kinds, and concerning various persons, which the narrow exertions of the Scottish press could not convey to the public, or which, if printed at all, existed only in limited editions, which soon sunk to the rarity of manuscripts. There was therefore an ample mine out of which Bannatyne made his compilation, with the intention, doubtless, of putting the *Lays of the Makers* out of the reach of oblivion, by subjecting the collection to the press. But the bloody wars of Queen Mary's time² made that no period for literary adventure; and the tendency of the subsequent age to polemical discussion, discouraged lighter and gayer studies. There is, therefore, little doubt, that had Bannatyne lived later than he did, or had he been a man of less taste in selecting his materials, a great proportion of the poetry contained in his volume must have been lost to posterity; and, if the stock of northern literature had been diminished only by the loss of such of Dunbar's pieces as Bannatyne's Manuscript contains, the damage to posterity would have been infinite."

The pestilence which caused Bannatyne to go into retirement, commenced at Edinburgh upon the 8th of September, 1568, being introduced by a merchant of the name of Dalgleish. We have, however, no evidence to prove that Bannatyne resided at this time in the capital. We know, from his own information, that he wrote his manuscript during the subsequent months of October, November, and December; which might almost seem to imply that he had lived in some other town, to which the pestilence only extended at the end of the month in which it appeared in Edinburgh. Leaving this in uncertainty, it is not perhaps too much to suppose that he might have adopted this means of spending his time of seclusion, from the fictitious example held out by Boccaccio, who represents the tales of his *Decameron* as having been told for mutual amusement, by a company of persons who had retired to the country to escape the plague. A person so eminently acquainted with the poetry of his own country, might well be familiar with the kindred work of that illustrious Italian.

The few remaining facts of George Bannatyne's life, which have been gathered up by the industry of Sir Walter Scott, may be briefly related. In 1572, he was provided with a tenement in the town of Leith, by a gift from his father. This would seem to imply that he was henceforward, at least, engaged in business, and resided either in Edinburgh or at its neighbouring port. It was not, however, till the 27th of October, 1587, that, being then in his forty-third year, he was admitted in due and competent form to the privileges of a merchant and guild-brother of the city of Edinburgh. "We have no means of knowing what branch of traffic George Bannatyne chiefly exercised; it is probable that, as usual in a Scottish burgh, his commerce was general and miscellaneous. We

pages in the careful and intricate style of caligraphy then practised, appears a sufficient task in itself for three months, without supposing that any part of the time was spent in collecting manuscripts. And hence we see the greater reason for supposing that a large part of the attention of George Bannatyne before his twenty-third year was devoted to Scottish poetry.

² The accomplished writer should rather have said, the minority of James VI., whose reign had commenced before the manuscript was written.

have reason to know that it was successful, as we find him in a few years possessed of a considerable capital, the time being considered, which he employed to advantage in various money-lending transactions. It must not be forgot that the penal laws of the Catholic period pronounced all direct taking of interest upon money, to be usurious and illegal. These denunciations did not decrease the desire of the wealthy to derive some profit from their capital, or diminish the necessity of the embarrassed land-holder who wished to borrow money. The mutual interest of the parties suggested various evasions of the law, of which the most common was, that the capitalist advanced to his debtor the sum wanted, as the price of a corresponding annuity, payable out of the lands and tenements of the debtor, which annuity was rendered redeemable upon the said debtor repaying the sum advanced. The moneyed man of those days, therefore, imitated the conduct imputed to the Jewish patriarch by Shylock. They did not take

— interest—not as you would say
Directly interest,

but they retained payment of an annuity as long as the debtor retained the use of their capital, which came to much the same thing. A species of transaction was contrived, as affording a convenient mode of securing the lender's money. Our researches have discovered that George Bannatyne had sufficient funds to enter into various transactions of this kind, in the capacity of lender; and, as we have no reason to suppose that he profited unfairly by the necessities of the other party, he cannot be blamed for having recourse to the ordinary expedients, to avoid the penalty of an absurd law, and accomplish a fair transaction, dictated by mutual expediency."

Bannatyne, about the same time that he became a burgess of Edinburgh, appears to have married his spouse, Isobel Mawchan [apparently identical with the modern name *Maughan*], who was the relict of Bailie William Nisbett, and must have been about forty years of age at the time of her second nuptials, supposing 1586 to be the date of that event, which is only probable from the succeeding year having produced her first child by Bannatyne. This child was a daughter, by name Janet, or Jonet; she was born on the 3rd of May, 1587. A son, James, born on the 6th of September, 1589, and who died young, completes the sum of Bannatyne's family. The father of Bannatyne died in the year 1583, and was succeeded in his estate of Newtyle, by his eldest living son, Thomas, who became one of the Lords of Session by that designation, an appointment which forms an additional voucher for the general respectability of the family. George Bannatyne was, on the 27th of August, 1603, deprived of his affectionate helpmate, Isobel Mawchan, at the age of fifty-seven. She had lived, according to her husband's "Memorials," "a godly, honourable, and virtuous life; was a wise, honest, and true matron, and departed in the Lord, in a peaceful and godly manner."

George Bannatyne himself deceased previous to the year 1608, leaving only one child, Janet, who had, in 1603, been married to George Foulis of Woodhall and Ravelstone, second son of James Foulis of Colington. His valuable collection of Scottish poetry was preserved in his daughter's family till 1712, when his great-grandson, William Foulis of Woodhall, bestowed it upon the Honourable William Carmichael of Skirling, advocate, brother to the Earl of Hyndford, a gentleman who appears to have had an eminent taste for such monuments of antiquity. While in the possession of Mr Carmichael, it was borrowed by Allan Ramsay, who selected from its pages the materials of his popular collection, styled, "The Evergreen." Lord Hailes, in 1770, published a second and more correct selection from the Bannatyne Manuscript; and the venerable tome was

in 1772, by the liberality of John, third Earl of Hyndford, deposited in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, where it still remains.

We have already alluded to George Bannatyne as a poet; and it remains to be shown in what degree he was entitled to that designation. To tell the truth, his verses display little, in thought or imagery, that could be expected to interest the present generation; neither was he perhaps a versifier of great repute, even in his own time. He seems to have belonged to a class very numerous in private life, who are eminently capable of enjoying poetry, and possess, to appearance, all the sensibilities which are necessary to its production; but, wanting the active or creative power, rarely yield to the temptation of writing verse, without a signal defeat. Such persons, of whom George Bannatyne was certainly one, may be said to have negative, but not positive poetry. As it seems but fair, however, that he who has done so much to bring the poetry of others before the world, should not have his own altogether confined to the solitude of manuscript, or the unobtrusive print of his own bibliographical society, we subjoin a specimen from one of the very few pieces which have come down to our own time. The verses which follow are the quaint, but characteristic conclusion of a sonnet to his mistress' eyebrow. It is ludicrous to observe theology pressed by the venerable rhymester into the service of love.

" Na thing of rycht I ask, my Lady fair,
Bot of fre will and mercy me to saif;
Your will is your awin, as ressoun wald it ware,
Thairfoir of grace, and nocht of rycht I craif
Of you mercy, as ye wald mercy half
Off God our Lord, quhois mercyis infeneit
Gols befoire all his workis, we may persaisf,
To thame quhois handis with mörcey ar repleit.

Now to conclude with wordis compendious;
Wald God my tong wald to my will respond,
And sik my speich was so facundious,
That I was full of rethore termys jocond!
Than suld my lufe at moir length be expound,
Than my cunning can to you heir declair;
For this my style inornetly compound,
Eschangs my pen your elris to truble mair.

Go to my deir with hummill reverence,
Thou bony bill, both rude and imperfeyte;
Go, nocht will forgit flattery to her presence,
As is of falsset the custome use and ryte;
Caus me nocht BAN that evir I the indyte.
NA xxx my travell, turning all in vane;
Bot with ane faithfull hairt, in word and wryte,
Declair my mind and bring me joy agane.

My name quha list to knaw, let him tak tent
Vnto this litill verse nixt preesident."

It only remains to be mentioned that the name of George Bannatyne has been appropriately adopted by a company of Scottish literary antiquaries, interested, like him, in the preservation of such curious memorials of the taste of past ages, as well as such monuments of history, as might otherwise run the hazard of total perdition.

BARBOUR, JOHN, a name of which Scotland has just occasion to be proud, was Archdeacon of Aberdeen in the later part of the fourteenth century. There

has been much idle controversy as to the date of his birth; while all that is known with historic certainty, may be related in a single sentence. As he was an archdeacon in 1357, and as, by the canon law, no man, without a dispensation, can attain that rank under the age of twenty-five, he was probably born before the year 1332. There is considerable probability that he was above the age of twenty-five in 1357, for not only is that date not mentioned as the year of his *attaining* the rank of archdeacon, but in the same year he is found exercising a very important political trust, which we can scarcely suppose to have been confided to a man of slender age, or scanty experience. This was the duty of a commissioner from the Bishop of Aberdeen, to meet with other commissioners at Edinburgh, concerning the ransom of David II., who was then a prisoner in England.

As to the parentage or birth-place of Barbour, we have only similar conjectures. Besides the probability of his having been a native of the district in which he afterwards obtained high clerical rank, it can be shown that there were individuals of his name, in and about the town of Aberdeen, who might have been his father. Thus, in 1309, Robert Bruce granted a charter to *Robert Barbour*, "of the lands of Craigie, within the shirefdom of Forfar, quhill sumtyme were Joannis de Baliolo." There is also mention, in the Index of Charters, of a tenement in the Castle-street of Aberdeen, which, at a period remotely antecedent to 1360, belonged to *Andrew Barbour*. The name, which appears to have been one of that numerous class derived from trades, is also found in persons of the same era, who were connected with the southern parts of Scotland.

In attempting the biography of an individual who lived four or five centuries ago, and whose life was commemorated by no contemporary, all that can be expected is a few unconnected, and perhaps not very interesting facts. It is already established that Barbour, in 1357, was Archdeacon of the cathedral of Aberdeen, and fulfilled a high trust imposed upon him by his bishop. It is equally ascertained that, in the same year, he travelled, with three scholars in his company, to Oxford, for purposes connected with study. A safe-conduct granted to him by Edward III., August 23d, at the request of David II., conveys this information in the following terms: "*Veniendo, cum tribus scholaribus in comitiva sua, in regnum nostrum Angliæ, causa studiendi in universitate Oxoniæ et ibidem actus scholasticos exercendo, morando, exinde in Scotiam ad propria redeundo.*" It might have been supposed that Barbour only officiated in this expedition as tutor to the three scholars; but that he was himself bent on study at the university, is proved by a second safe-conduct, granted by the same monarch, November 6th, 1364, in the following terms: "*To Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, with four knights (equites), coming from Scotland, by land or sea, into England, to study at Oxford, or elsewhere, as he may think proper.*" As also from a third, bearing date November 30th, 1368, "*To Master John Barbour, with two valets and two horses, to come into England, and travel through the same, to the other dominions of the king, versus Franciam, causa studiendi, and of returning again.*" It would thus appear that Barbour, even after that he had attained a high ecclesiastical dignity, found it agreeable or necessary to spend several winters at Oxford in study. When we recollect that at this time there was no university in Scotland, and that a man of such literary habits as Barbour could not fail to find himself at a loss even for the use of a library in his native country, we are not to wonder at his occasional pilgrimages to the illustrious shrine of learning on the banks of the Isis. Or the 16th of October, 1365, he received another safe-conduct from Edward III., permitting him "*to come into England and travel throughout that kingdom, cum sex sociis suis equitibus, usque Sanctum Dionisium;*" *i. e.* with six knights

in company, to St Denis in France. Such slight notices suggest curious and interesting views of the manners of that early time. We are to understand from them, that Barbour always travelled in a very dignified manner, being sometimes attended by four knights and sometimes by no fewer than six, or at least, by two mounted servants. A man accustomed to such state might be the better able to compose a chivalrous epic like "the Bruce."

There is no other authentic document regarding Barbour till the year 1373, when his name appears in the list of Auditors of Exchequer for that year, being then described as "*Clericus Probationis domus domini nostri Regis*;" i. e. apparently—Auditor of the comptroller's accounts for the royal household. This, however, is too obscure and solitary an authority to enable us to conclude that he bore an office under the king. Hume of Godscroft, speaking of "the Bruce's book," says: "As I am informed, the book was penned by a man of good knowledge and learning, named Master John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeene, for which work he had a yearly pension out of the exchequer during his life, which he gave to the hospitall of that towne, and to which it is allowed and paid still in our dayes."¹ This fact, that a pension was given him for writing his book, is authenticated by an unquestionable document. In the *Rotuli Ballivorum Burghi de Aberdonia* for 1471, the entry of the discharge for this royal donation bears that it was expressly given "for the compilation of the book of the Deeds of King Robert the First," referring to a prior statement of this circumstance in the more ancient rolls:—"Et Decano et Capitulo Abirdonensi percipienti annuatim viginti solidos pro anniversario quondam Magistri Johannis Barberi, pro compilatione libri gestorum Regis Roberti primi, ut patet in antiquis Rotulis de anno Compoti, xx. a." The first notice we have of Barbour receiving a pension is dated February 18th, 1390; and although this period was only about two months before the death of Robert the Second, it appears from the rolls that to that monarch the poet was indebted for the favour. In the roll for April 26th, 1398, this language occurs:—"Quam recolendie memorie quondam dominus Robertus secundus, rex Scottorum, dedit, concessit, et carta sua confirmavit quondam Johanni Barbere archidiacono Aberdonensi," &c.—In the roll dated June 2d, 1424, the words are these:—"Decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis Aberdonensis percipientibus annuatim viginti solidos de firmis dicti burghi pro anniversario quondam magistri Johannis Barbar pro compilatione libri de gestis Regis Roberti Brwise, ex concessione regis Roberti secundi, in plenam solutionem dicte pensionis," &c. Barbour's pension consisted of £10 Scots from the customs of Aberdeen, and of 20 shillings from the rents or burrow-malls of the same city. The first sum was limited to "the life of Barbour;" the other to "his assignees whomsoever, although he should have assigned it in the way of mortification." Hume of Godscroft and others are in a mistake in supposing that he appropriated this sum to an hospital (for it appears from the accounts of the great chamberlain that he left it to the chapter of the cathedral church of Aberdeen, for the express purpose of having mass said for his soul annually after his decease: "That the dean and canons of Aberdeen, for the time being, also the chapter and other ministers officiating at the same time in the said church, shall annually for ever solemnly celebrate once in the year an anniversary for the soul of the said unquhile John." Barbour's anniversary, it is supposed continued till the reformation; and then the sum allowed for it reverted to the crown.

All that is further known of Barbour is, that he died towards the close of 1395. This appears from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and it is the last year in which the payment of his pension of £10 stands on the record.

¹ History of the Douglasses.

"The Bruce," which Barbour himself informs us he wrote in the year 1375, is a metrical history of Robert the First—his exertions and achievements for the recovery of the independence of Scotland, and the principal transactions of his reign. As Barbour flourished in the age immediately following that of his hero, he must have enjoyed the advantage of hearing from eye-witnesses narratives of the war of liberty. As a history, his work is of good authority; he himself boasts of its *soothfastness*; and the simple and straight-forward way in which the story is told goes to indicate its general veracity. Although, however, the object of the author was mainly to give a *soothfast* history of the life and transactions of Robert the Bruce, the work is far from being destitute of poetical feeling or rhythmical sweetness and harmony. The lofty sentiments and vivid descriptions with which it abounds, prove the author to have been fitted by feeling and by principle, as well as by situation, for the task which he undertook. His genius has lent truth all the charms that are usually supposed to belong to fiction. The horrors of war are softened by strokes of tenderness that make us equally in love with the hero and the poet. In battle painting, Barbour is eminent: the battle of Bannockburn is described with a minuteness, spirit, and ferrency, worthy of the day. The following is a part of the description of that noble engagement, and presents a striking picture of a mortal combat before the introduction of gunpowder made warfare less a matter of brute force.

— with wapynys stalwart of stele
 They dang upon, with all thair mycht.
 Their fayis resawyt wele, Ik hycht,
 With swordis, speris, and with mase
 The battaill thair sa feloun was,
 And swa rycht spilling of blud,
 That on the erd the sloussis stud.
 The Scottamen sa weill thaim bar,
 And swa gret slauchter maid thair thar,
 And fra sa fele the lyvis rewyt,
 That all the feld bludy was lewyt.
 That tyme thir thre bataills wer,
 All syd be syd, fechtand weill ner,
 Thair mycht men her mony dint,
 And wapynys apon armurs stynt,
 And se tumble knychts and steds,
 And mony rych and reale weds.
 Defoulyt foully undre fete,
 Sum held on loft; sum tynt the snet.
 A lang quhill thus fechtand thair war;
 That men na noyis mycht her thair;
 Men hard noucht, but granyis, and dymtis
 That flew fyr, as men flayis on flytis.
 Thair faucht ilkane sa egrely,
 That thair maid na noyis na cry,
 But dang on othyr at thair mycht,
 With wapyns that war burnyst brycht

Whar mycht men se men felly fycht,
 And men, that worthy war and wycht
 Do mony worthy wassellage.
 Whai faucht as thair war in a rage.
 For quhen the Scotts archery
 Saw thair fayis sa sturdely

Stand into bataill them agayne ;
 With all thair mycht, and all thair mayne,
 Thai layd on, as men out off wyt.
 And quhar thai, with full strak, mycht hyt,
 Thar mycht na armur stynt thair strak.
 Thai to fruchyt that thai mycht ourtak.
 And with axys such dusches gave,
 That thai helmys, and heds, clave.
 And thair sayis rycht bardely
 Met thaim, and dung on them doughtely,
 With wapynge that war styth off stale.
 Thar wes the bataill strekyt weill.
 Sa gret dyn that wes off dyns,
 As wapynge apon armur stynts ;
 And off spers sa gret bresting ;
 And sic thrang, and sic thrysting ;
 Sic gyrning, granyng ; and sa gret
 A noyis, as thai gan othyr belt :
 And enseneyis on ilka sid :
 Gewand, and takand, wounds wid ;
 That it wes hidwyss for to her.—*Book xiii. l. 14 & 138.*

The apostrophe to Freedom, after the painful description of the slavery to which Scotland was reduced by Edward, is in a style of poetical feeling very uncommon in that and many subsequent ages, and has been quoted with high praise by the most distinguished Scottish historians and critics :—

A ! fredome is a nobill thing !
 Fredome mayse man to haiff liking !
 Fredome all solace to man giffis :
 He levys at ese that frely levys !
 A noble hart may haiff nane ese,
 Na ellys nocht that may him plesse,
 Gyff fredome faillythe : for fre liking
 Is yearmyt our all othir thing
 Na he, that ay hase levyt fre,
 May nocht knaw weill the propyrtie,
 The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
 That is cowplyt to foule thyridome.
 Bot gyff he had assayit it,
 Than all perquer he suld it wyt ;
 And suld think fredome mar to pryse
 Than all the gold in world that is.¹—*Book i. l. 225.*

¹ Some readers may perhaps arrive at the sense of this fine passage more readily through the medium of the following paraphrase :—

Ah, Freedom is a noble thing,
 And can to life a relish bring.
 Freedom all solace to man gives ;
 He lives at ease that freely lives.
 A noble heart may have no ease,
 Nor aught beside that may it please,
 If freedom fail—for 'tis the choice,
 More than the chosen, man enjoys.
 Ah, he that ne'er yet lived in thrall,
 Knows not the weary pains which gall
 The limbs, the soul, of him who 'plains
 In slavery's foul and festering chains !
 If these he knew, I ween right soon
 He would seek back the precious boon
 Of freedom, which he then would prize
 More than all wealth beneath the skies.

"Barbour," says an eminent critic in Scottish poetical literature, "was evidently skilled in such branches of knowledge as were then cultivated, and his learning was so well regulated as to conduce to the real improvement of his mind: the liberality of his views, and the humanity of his sentiments, appear occasionally to have been unconfined by the narrow boundaries of his own age. He has drawn various illustrations from ancient history, and from the stories of romance, but has rarely displayed his erudition by decking his verses with the names of ancient authors: the distichs of Cato,² and the spurious productions of Dares Phrygius, and Dictys Cretensis, are the only profane books to which he formally refers. He has borrowed more than one illustration from Statius, who was the favourite classic of those times, and who likewise appears to have been the favourite of Barbour: the more chaste and elegant style of Virgil and Horace were not so well adapted to the prevalent taste as the strained thoughts and gorgeous diction of Statius and Claudian. The manner in which he has incidentally discussed the subject of astrology and necromancy, may be specified as not a little creditable to his good sense. It is well known that these branches of divination were assiduously cultivated during the ages of intellectual darkness. The absurdity of astrology and necromancy he has not openly attempted to expose; for as the opinions of the many, however unfounded in reason, must not be too rashly stigmatized, this might have been too bold and decided a step. Of the possibility of predicting events he speaks with the caution of a philosopher; but the following passage may be considered as a sufficient indication of his deliberate sentiments:

And sen that ar in sic wenyng,
For owtyn certante off witting,
Me think quha sayis he knawis thingis
To cum, he makys great gabingis.

To form such an estimate, required a mind capable of resisting a strong torrent of prejudice; nor is it superfluous to remark, that in an age of much higher refinement, Dryden suffered himself to be deluded by the prognostications of judicial astrology. It was not, however, to be expected that Barbour should on every occasion evince a decided superiority to the general spirit of the age to which he belonged. His terrible imprecation on the person who betrayed Sir Christopher Seton, "In hell condampnyt mot he be!" ought not to have been uttered by a Christian priest. His detestation of the treacherous and cruel King Edward, induced him to lend a credulous ear to the report of his consulting an infernal spirit. The misfortunes which attended Bruce at almost every step of his early progress, he attributes to his sacrilegious act of slaying Comyn at the high altar. He supposes that the women and children who assisted in supplying the brave defenders of Berwick with arrows and stones, were protected from injury by a miraculous interposition. Such instances of superstition or uncharitable zeal are not to be viewed as marking the individual: gross superstition, with its usual concomitants, was the general spirit of the time; and the deviations from the ordinary track are to be traced in examples of liberal feeling or enlightened judgment."³

One further quotation from the Scottish contemporary and rival of Chaucer may perhaps be admitted by the reader. As the former refers, one to a lofty incident, the other to a beautiful sentiment, the following is one of the slight and minute stories with which the poet fills up his narrative:—

² And Catone sayis us in his wryt
To fenyhe foly quhille is wyt.—*The Bruce*, 4to, p. 13.

³ Article BARBOUR, written by Dr Irving, in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 7th edition.

The king has hard a woman cry ;
 He askyt quhat that was in hy.
 " It is the layndar, Schyr," said ane,
 " That her child-ill rycht now has tane,
 " And mon leve now behind ws her ;
 " Tharfor scho makys yone iwill cher."
 The king said, " Certis it war pite
 " That scho in that poynt left suld be ;
 " For certis I trow thar is na man
 " That be ne will rew a woman than."
 His oet all thar arestyt he,
 And gert a tent sone stentit be,
 And gert hyr gang in hastily,
 And othyr wemen to be hyr by,
 Quhill scho was deller, he bad,
 And syne furth on his wayis raid :
 And how scho furth suld cary it be,
 Or euir he furth fur, ordanyt be.
 This was a full gret curtasy,
 That swilk a king, and sa mighty,
 Gert his men duell on this maner
 Bot for a poulr lauender.

No one can fail to remark that, while the incident is in the highest degree honourable to Bruce, showing that the gentle heart may still be known by gentle deed, so also is Barbour entitled to the credit of humane feelings, from the way in which he had detailed and commented upon the transaction.

Barbour was the author of another considerable work, which has unfortunately perished. This was a chronicle of Scottish history, probably in the manner of that by Andrew Winton.

BARCLAY, ALEXANDER, a distinguished writer of the English tongue at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is known to have been a native of Scotland only by very obscure evidence. He spent some of his earliest years at Croydon, in Surrey, and it is conjectured that he received his education at one of the English Universities. In the year 1508, he was a prebendary of the collegiate church of St Mary, at Ottery, in Devonshire. He was afterwards a Monk, first of the order of St Benedict at Ely, and latterly of the order of St Francis at Canterbury. While in this situation, and having the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he published an English translation of the "Mirrour of Good Manners," (a treatise compiled in Latin by Dominyke Mancyn,) for the use of the "juvent of England." After the Reformation, Barclay accepted a ministerial charge under the new religion, as vicar of Much-Badew in Essex. In 1546, he was vicar of Wokey in Somersetshire, and in 1552 he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of London to the rectory of Allhallows in Lombard Street. Having reached an advanced age, he died in June this year, at Croydon in Surrey, where he was buried.

Barclay published a great number of books, original and translated, and is allowed by the most intelligent enquirers into early English literature to have done more for the improvement of the language than any of his contemporaries. His chief poetical work is "the Ship of Fooles," which was written in imitation of a German work entitled, "*Das Narren Schiff*," published in 1494. "The Ship of Fooles," which was first printed in 1509, describes a vessel laden with all sorts of absurd persons, though there seems to have been no end in view but to bring them into one place, so that they might be described, as the beasts were brought before Adam in order to be named. We shall transcribe one passage

from this work, as a specimen of the English style of Barclay: it is a curious contemporary character of King James IV. of Scotland.

And, ye Christen princes, whosoever ye be,
 If ye be destitute of a noble captayne,
 Take James of Scotland for his audacitie
 And proved manhode, if ye will laude attaine:
 Let him have the forwarde: have ye no disdayne
 Nor indignation; for never king was borne
 That of ought of waure can shaw the uncorne.

For if that once he take the speare in hand
 Agaynst these Turkes strongly with it to ride,
 None shall be able his stroke for to withstande
 Nor before his face so hardy to abide.
 Yet this his manhode increaseth not his pride;
 But ever sheweth meeknes and humillitie,
 In worde or dede to hye and lowe degree.

Barclay also made a translation of Sallust's History of the Jugurthine war, which was published in 1557, five years after his death, and is one of the earliest specimens of English translation from the classics.

BARCLAY, JOHN, A.M. was the founder of a religious sect in Scotland, generally named Bereans, but sometimes called from the name of this individual, Barclayana. The former title derived its origin from the habit of Mr Barclay, in always making an appeal to the Scriptures, in vindication of any doctrine he advanced from the pulpit, or which was contained in his writings. The perfection of the Scriptures, or of the Book of divine revelation, was the fundamental article of his system; at least this was what he himself publicly declared upon all occasions, and the same sentiments are still entertained by his followers. In the Acts of the Apostles, xvii. 10. the Bereans are thus mentioned, "These were more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." These words were frequently quoted by Mr Barclay. It ought to be observed, however, that originally it was not a name of reproach invented by the malevolent part of the public, with the design of holding up Mr Barclay and his associates to contempt, but was voluntarily assumed by them, to distinguish them from other sects of professed Christians.

Mr Barclay was born in 1734. His father, Mr Ludovic Barclay, was a farmer in the parish of Muthill, in the county of Perth. Being at an early age designed by his parents for the church, he was sent to school, and received the best education which that part of the country could afford. The name of his master is now forgotten, but if we are to judge from the eminent proficiency of the pupil, we must infer, that he was a good scholar and an excellent teacher, and was well aware of the absolute necessity and advantages of being well grounded in the elements of classical learning. Respectable farmers, such as Mr Barclay's father, had a laudable ambition in affording to their sons an opportunity of being instructed in the learned languages, and to do the parish schoolmasters justice, many of them were eminently qualified for performing the task which they had undertaken.

Young Barclay was sent by his father to St Andrews, and was enrolled as a student in that University; where he regularly attended the literary and philosophical classes, and having submitted to the usual examinations, he took the degree of A.M. At the commencement of the subsequent session, he entered the New Divinity, or St Mary's College, a seminary in which theology alone is taught. Nothing very particular occurred during his attendance at the Hall, as it is generally

called. He was uniformly regular in his private conduct, and though constitutionally of very impetuous passions, and a fervid imagination, at no time of his life was he ever seduced into the practice of what was immoral or vicious. The Christian principles, with which he seems to have been impressed very early in life, afforded him sufficient protection against the allurements or snares to which he was exposed. He prosecuted his studies with the most unremitting industry, and with great care prepared the discourses prescribed by the professor, and publicly delivered in the Hall.

While he attended the lectures on divinity, the University of St Andrews, and indeed the Church of Scotland in general, were placed in a very unpleasant situation, by the agitation of a question which originated with Dr Archibald Campbell, professor of Church History in St Mary's College. He maintained "that the knowledge of the existence of God was derived from Revelation, not from Nature." This was long reckoned one of the errors of Socinus, and no one in Scotland, before Dr Campbell's time, had ever disputed the opinion that was generally current, and consequently esteemed orthodox. It was well known that the Doctor was not a Socinian, and did not favour any of the other dogmas of that sect. The constitutional tendency of his mind was metaphysical, and he certainly was possessed of great acuteness, which enabled him to perceive on what point his opponents were most vulnerable, and where they laid themselves open to attack. He published his sentiments without the least reserve, and was equally ready to enter upon a vindication of them. He considered his view of the subject as a foundation necessary to be laid in order to demonstrate the necessity of revelation. A whole host of opponents volunteered their services to strangle in the birth such dangerous sentiments. Innumerable pamphlets rapidly made their appearance, and the hue and cry was so loud, and certain persons so clamorous, that the ecclesiastical courts thought that they could no longer remain silent. Dr Campbell was publicly prosecuted on account of his heretical opinions, but after long litigation the matter was compromised, and the only effect it produced was, that the students at St Andrews in general became more zealous defenders of the Doctor's system, though they durst not avow it so openly. Among others, Mr Barclay with his accustomed zeal, and with all the energies of his juvenile but ardent mind, had warmly espoused Dr Campbell's system. Long before he left College he was noted as one of his most open and avowed partizans. These principles he never deserted, and in his view of Christianity it formed an important part of the system of revealed truth. It must not be imagined, however, that Mr Barclay slavishly followed, or adopted all Dr Campbell's sentiments. Though they were both agreed that a knowledge of the true God was derived from revelation and not from nature, yet they differed upon almost every other point of systematic divinity. Mr Barclay was early, and continued through life to be a high predestinarian, or what is technically denominated a supralapsarian, while Dr Campbell, if one may draw an inference from some of his illustrations, leaned to Arminianism, and doubtless was not a decided Calvinist.

Mr Barclay having delivered the prescribed discourses with the approbation of the professor of Divinity, he now directed his views to obtain license as a preacher in the establishment, and took the requisite steps. Having delivered the usual series of exercises with the entire approbation of his judges, he was, on the 27th September, 1759, licensed by the presbytery of Auchterarder as a preacher of the gospel. He was not long without employment. Mr Jobson, then minister of Errol, near Perth, was advanced in years, in an infirm state of health, and required an assistant. Mr Barclay, from his popularity as a preacher, and the reputation he enjoyed through a great part of Perthshire, as well as of Angus and

Mearns, easily obtained this situation. Here he remained for three or four years, until a rupture with his principal obliged him to leave it. Mr Jobson was what may be called, of the old school. He warmly espoused (as a great many clergymen of the Church of Scotland in those days did), the system of the Marrow of Modern Divinity, a book written by Edward Fisher, an English dissenter, about the middle of the seventeenth century. This work had a vast circulation throughout Scotland. The celebrated Mr Thomas Boston of Ettrick, when visiting his parish ministerially, casually found it in the house of one of his parishioners. He carried it home, was a warm admirer of the system of divinity it contained, and was at the labour of writing notes upon it. Boston's name secured its success among a numerous class of readers. For many years this book occasioned a most serious commotion in the Church of Scotland, which is generally called, "The Marrow Controversy." It was, indeed, the remote cause of that great division, which has since been styled the *Secession*.

But there was another cause for the widening of this unfortunate breach. The well known Mr John Glass, minister of Tealing, near Dundee, had published in 1727, a work entitled, "The Testimony of the King of Martyrs." With the exception of the Cameronians, this gentleman was the first dissenter from the Church of Scotland since the Revolution, and it is worthy of remark that the founders of the principal sects were all originally cast out of the church. Mr Glass was an admirer of the writings of the most celebrated English Independents, (of Dr John Owen in particular) and of their form of church government. Mr Barclay, who was no independent, heartily approved of many of his sentiments respecting the doctrines of the Gospel, and as decidedly disapproved of others, as shall be mentioned in the sequel. At no time were disputes carried on with greater violence between Christians of different denominations. Mr Barclay had a system of his own, and agreed with none of the parties; but this, if possible, rendered him more obnoxious to Mr Jobson. Much altercation took place between them in private. Mr Barclay publicly declared his sentiments from the pulpit, Mr Jobson did the same in defence of himself, so that a rupture became unavoidable.

About the time of Mr Barclay's leaving Errol, Mr Anthony Dow, minister of Fettercairn, in the presbytery of Fordoun, found himself unfit for the full discharge of his duties. He desired his son, the Rev. David Dow, then minister of the parish of Dron, in the presbytery of Perth, to use his endeavour to procure him an assistant. Mr Dow, who, we believe, was a fellow student of Mr Barclay at St Andrews, was perfectly well acquainted with his talents and character, and the cause of his leaving Errol, immediately made offer to him of being assistant to his father. This he accepted, and he commenced his labours in the beginning of June, 1763. What were Mr Anthony Dow's peculiar theological sentiments we do not know, but those of Mr David Dow were not very different from Mr Barclay's. Here he remained for nine years, which he often declared to have been the most happy, and considered to have been the most useful period of his life.

Mr Barclay was of a fair, and in his youth, of a very florid complexion. He then looked younger than he really was. The people of Fettercairn were at first greatly prejudiced against him on account of his youthful appearance. But this was soon forgotten. His fervid manner, in prayer especially, and at different parts of almost every sermon, rivetted the attention, and impressed the minds of his audience to such a degree, that it was almost impossible to lose the memory of it. His popularity as a preacher became so great at Fettercairn, that anything of the like kind is seldom to be met with in the history of the Church of Scotland. The parish church being an old fashioned building, had rafters

across; these were crowded with hearers;—the sashes of the windows were taken out to accommodate the multitude who could not gain admittance. During the whole period of his settlement at Fettercairn, he had regular hearers who flocked to him from ten or twelve of the neighbouring parishes. If an opinion could be formed of what his manner had been in his youth, and at his prime, from what it was a year or two before he died, it must have been vehement, passionate, and impetuous to an uncommon degree. At the time to which we allude, we heard him deliver in his own chapel at Edinburgh, a prayer immediately after the sermon, in which he had alluded to some of the corruptions of the Church of Rome; the impression it made upon our mind was of the most vivid nature; and, we are persuaded, was alike in every other member of the congregation. The following sentence we distinctly remember, "We pray, we plead, we cry, O Lord, that thou wouldst dash out of the hand of Antichrist, that cup of abominations, wherewith she hath poisoned the nations, and give unto her, and unto them, the cup of salvation, by drinking whereof they may inherit everlasting life." But the words themselves are nothing unless they were pronounced with his own tone and manner.

During his residence at Fettercairn he did not confine his labours to his public ministrations in the pulpit, but visited from house to house, was the friend and adviser of all who were at the head of a family, and entered warmly into whatever regarded their interests. He showed the most marked attention to children and to youth; and when any of the household were seized with sickness or disease, he spared no pains in giving tokens of his sympathy and tenderness, and administered consolation to the afflicted. He was very assiduous in discharging those necessary and important duties, which he thought were peculiarly incumbent upon a country clergyman. Such long continued and uninterrupted exertions were accompanied with the most happy effects. A taste for religious knowledge, or what is the same, the reading and study of the Bible, began to prevail to a great extent; the morals of the people were improved, and vice and profaneness, as ashamed, were made to hide their heads. Temperance, sobriety, and regularity of behaviour, sensibly discovered themselves throughout all ranks.

Mr Barclay had a most luxuriant fancy, a great liking for poetry, and possessed considerable facility of versification. His taste, however, was far from being correct or chaste, and his imagination was little under the management of a sound judgment. Many of his pieces are exceedingly desultory in their nature, but occasionally discover scintillations of genius. The truth probably is, that he neither corrected nor bestowed pains on any of his productions in prose or verse. From the ardour of his mind, they were generally the result of a single effort. At least this appears particularly the case in his shorter poems. He does not seem to have perceived or known that good writing, whether in prose or verse, is an art, and not to be acquired without much labour and practice, as well as a long and repeated revival of what may have been written. Mr Barclay's compositions in both styles, with two or three exceptions, appear to have merely been thrown forth upon the spur of the moment. As soon as written, they were deposited among his manuscripts, and, instead of being attentively examined by him, and with a critical eye, were shortly after submitted to the public. Besides his works in prose, he published a great many thousand verses on religious subjects.

He had composed a Paraphrase of the whole book of Psalms, part of which was published in 1766. To this was prefixed, "A Dissertation on the best means of interpreting that portion of the canon of Scripture." His views upon this subject were peculiar. He was of opinion that, in all the Psalms which are

in the first person, the speaker is Christ, and not David nor any other mere man, and that the other Psalms describe the situation of the Church of God, sometimes in prosperity, sometimes in adversity, and finally triumphing over all its enemies. This essay is characterized by uncommon vigour of expression, yet in some places with considerable acrimony. The presbytery of Fordoun took great offence at this publication, and summoned Mr Barclay to appear at their bar. He did so, and defended himself with spirit and intrepidity. His opinions were not contrary to any doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith, so that he could not even be censured by them. The truth was, that they had taken great offence at the popularity of Mr Barclay as a preacher, and it was only in this way that they could avenge his superiority over themselves. Being disappointed in establishing heresy, their rancour became more violent, and they determined to give him as much annoyance as they possibly could. Even the names of the members of the presbytery of Fordoun are now forgotten. None of them were distinguished for remarkable talents of any kind, and they have long lain mute and inglorious. But at this time they possessed an authority, which they resolved to exercise to the utmost stretch. Having engaged in the invidious and ignoble employment of heresy hunting, they seem to have been aware, that it was necessary to proceed with caution. The presbytery have the charge of the spiritual concerns of all the individuals within their bounds. They have a right to inspect the orthodoxy of the doctrine taught, as well as the moral conduct of clergymen and laymen. It is their especial business to examine narrowly into the behaviour of the former class. Having pounced upon Mr Barclay, they made the most they could of his supposed offence, which at the worst, was only a venial error.

Mr Barclay, who being naturally of a frank, open, and ingenuous disposition, had no idea of concealing his opinions, not only continued to preach the same doctrines which were esteemed heretical by the presbytery, but published them in a small work, entitled, "Rejoice evermore, or Christ All in All." This obstinacy, as they considered it, irritated them to a very high degree. They drew up a warning against the dangerous doctrines that he preached, and ordered it to be read publicly in the church of Fettercairn after sermon, and before pronouncing the blessing, by one of their own members, expressly appointed for that purpose on a specified day, which was accordingly done. This attempt to ruin Mr Barclay's character and usefulness, and deprive him of the means of obtaining daily bread, contained an enumeration of his supposed errors, which they were cautioned to avoid, and strictly enjoined not to receive. Mr Barclay viewed their conduct with indifference mingled with contempt. At a former meeting of presbytery, the points of difference had been argued in public at great length, and he is generally allowed to have come off victorious. He was, it is confessed, too keen in his temper to listen, with sedate composure, to the arguments of an opponent, when engaged in a private debate. But his talents for controversy were of a superior order. He had a clear understanding, a tenacious memory, and a ready elocution; and at no time of his life did he decline an argument. No effect of any kind resulted from the warning to the people of Fettercairn, who were unanimous in their approbation of Mr Barclay's doctrine. He continued during Mr Dow's life-time to instruct the people of his parish, and conducted his weekly examinations to the great profit of those who gave attendance.

In 1769, he published one of the largest of his treatises, entitled, "Without Faith without God, or an appeal to God concerning his own existence." This was a defence of similar sentiments respecting the evidence in favour of the existence of God, which were entertained by Dr Campbell already mentioned. The

illustrations are entirely Calvinistical. This essay is not very methodical. It contains, however, a great many acute observations, and sarcastic remarks upon the systems of those who have adopted the generally current notions respecting natural religion. The author repeatedly and solemnly declares, that he attacks doctrines and not men—that he has no quarrel with any man, nor means to hurt any one. The metaphysical arguments in favour of his side of the question, as well as what may not improperly be called the historical proofs, he has left to others, esteeming such kind of evidence as of small value in regard to settling the point at issue. His object is to prove from the Scriptures, that the knowledge of God comes not by nature, innate ideas, intuition, reason, &c. but only by Revelation. But we must refer to the treatise itself, it being impossible in this place to give even an abridgment of his reasoning. It may be observed, however, that he exposes in the most unreserved language, and denies, that the merely holding that there is a first, original, unoriginated cause of all things, &c. is the same with the knowledge of God, whose character and works are revealed in Scripture.

In the course of the same year, 1769, he addressed a letter on the “Eternal Generation of the Son of God,” to Messrs Smith and Ferrier. These two gentlemen had been clergymen in the church of Scotland. They published their reasons of separation from the established church. They had adopted all the sentiments of Mr Glass, who was a most strict independent, and both of them died in the Glassite communion. The late Dr Dalglish of Peebles had, about the time of their leaving the church, published a new theory respecting the sonship of Christ, and what is not a little singular, it had the merit of originality, and had never before occurred to any theologian. He held the tri-personality of Deity, but denied the eternal Sonship of the second person of the Godhead, and was of opinion that this *filiation* only took place when the divine nature was united to the human, in the person of Christ, Immanuel, God with us. Novel as this doctrine was, all the Scottish Independents, with a very few exceptions, embraced it. The difference between Dalglish and the Arians consists in this, that the second person of the Trinity, according to him, is God, equal with the Father, whilst the latter maintain in a certain sense his supreme exaltation, yet they consider him as subordinate to the Father. Mr Barclay’s letter states very clearly the Scriptural arguments usually adduced in favour of the eternal generation of the Son of God. It is written with great moderation, and in an excellent spirit.

In 1771, he published a letter, “On the Assurance of Faith,” addressed to a gentleman who was a member of Mr Cudworth’s congregation in London. Cudworth was the person who made a distinguished figure in defending the celebrated Mr Hervey against the acrimonious attack of Mr Robert Sandeman, who was a Glassite. Excepting in some peculiar forms of expression, Cudworth’s views of the assurance of faith did not materially differ from Mr Barclay’s. There appeared also in the same year, “A Letter on Prayer,” addressed to an Independent congregation in Scotland.

The Rev. Anthony Dow, minister of Fettercairn, died in 1772. The presbytery of Fordoun seized this opportunity of gratifying their spleen; they prohibited Mr Barclay from preaching in the kirk of Fettercairn, and used all their influence to prevent him from being employed, not only within their bounds, which lie in what is called the Mearns, but they studied to defame him in all quarters. The clergy of the neighbouring district, that is, in Angus, were much more friendly. They were ready to admit him into their pulpits, and he generally preached every Lord’s day, during the subsequent autumn, winter, and spring. Multitudes from all parts of the country crowded to hear him.

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The patronage of Fettercairn is in the gift of the crown. The parish almost unanimously favoured Mr Barclay. They were not, however, permitted to have any choice, and the Rev. Robert Foote, then minister of Eskdale Muir, was presented. At the moderation of the call, only three signed in favour of Mr Foote. The parishioners appealed to the Synod, and from the Synod to the General Assembly, who ordered Mr Foote to be inducted.

The presbytery carried their hostility against Mr Barclay so far, as to refuse him a certificate of character, which is always done, as a matter of course, when a preacher leaves their bounds. He appealed to the Synod, and afterwards to the Assembly, who found (though he was in no instance accused of any immorality) that the presbytery were justified in withholding the certificate. He had no alternative, and therefore left the communion of the Church of Scotland.

A great many friends in Edinburgh, who had adopted his peculiar sentiments, formed themselves into a church, and urged him to become their pastor. The people of Fettercairn also solicited him to labour in the ministry amongst them; but for the present he declined both invitations. Having hitherto held only the status of a probationer or licentiate, he visited Newcastle, and was ordained there October 12th, 1773. The certificate of ordination is signed by the celebrated James Murray of Newcastle, the author of the well-known "Sermons to Asses;" which contain a rich vein of poignant satire, not unworthy of Swift. It was also signed by Robert Somerville of Weardale, and James Somerville of Swalwell, and Robert Green, clerk.

His friends at Fettercairn meanwhile erected a place of worship at Sauchyburn, in the immediate neighbourhood, and renewed their application to have him settled amongst them. But Mr Barclay, conceiving that his sphere of usefulness would be more extended were he to reside in Edinburgh, gave the preference to the latter. Mr James M'Rae, having joined Mr Barclay, was ordained minister at Sauchyburn in spring, 1774. The congregation there, at this time, consisted of from one thousand to twelve hundred members.

Mr Barclay remained in Edinburgh about three years; and was attended by a numerous congregation, who had adopted his views of religious truth. But having a strong desire to disseminate his opinions, he left the church at Edinburgh under the care of his elders and deacons, and repaired to London. For nearly two years he preached there, as well as at Bristol, and other places in England. A church was formed in the capital. He also established there a debating society, which met weekly in the evening, for the purpose of disputing with any who might be disposed to call his doctrines in question. One of those who went with the design of impugning Mr Barclay's opinions was Mr William Nelson, who eventually became a convert. This gentleman had been educated in the Church of England, but, when Mr Barclay came first to London, had joined the Whitefieldian or Calvinistic Methodists. He afterwards came to Scotland; was connected with Mr Barclay; practised as a surgeon in Edinburgh, and delivered lectures on chemistry there, for about ten years. He was a man of considerable abilities; amiable in private life, and of the most unblemished character. He was cut off by apoplexy in 1800.

At Edinburgh, Mr Barclay published an edition of his works in three volumes, including a pretty large treatise on the sin against the Holy Ghost, which, according to him, is merely unbelief or discrediting the Scripture. In 1783 he published a small work for the use of the Berean Churches, "The Epistle to the Hebrews Paraphrased," with a collection of psalms and songs from his other works, accompanied with "A close examination into the truth of several received principles."

Mr Barclay died on the 29th of July, 1798. Being Sabbath, when on his road to preach, he felt himself rather unwell; he took a circuitous route to the meeting-

house, but finding himself no better, he called at the house of one of the members of his congregation. In a few minutes after he entered the house, while kneeling in prayer beside a chair, he expired without a groan, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his professional career. His nephew, Dr John Barclay, was immediately sent for, who declared his death to have been occasioned by apoplexy. He was interred in the Calton Old Burying-ground, Edinburgh, where a monument has been erected to his memory. Mr Barclay was a very uncommon character, and made a great impression upon his contemporaries.

There are Berean churches in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Crieff, Kirkcaldy, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Brechin, Fettercairn, and a few other places.

BARCLAY, JOHN, M.D., an eminent lecturer on anatomy, was the nephew of John Barclay, the Berean, after whom he was named. He was born in 1759, or 1760, at Cairn, near to Drummaquhance, in Perthshire. His father was a respectable farmer in that part of the country, and was characterized by great natural shrewdness and vivacity. His son, John, was educated at the parish school of Muthill, and early distinguished himself by his superior powers of mind, and by his application. Being destined for the church, he, in 1776, repaired to the university of St Andrews, where he became a successful candidate for a bursary. He made great proficiency in the Greek language, then taught by the late principal George Hill, and also discovered a partiality for the study of mathematics, although he does not appear to have prosecuted this important branch of science. After having attended the usual preliminary classes at the united college of St Salvador and St Leonard, Barclay studied divinity in St Mary's, attaching himself to the moderate party in the church. He studied divinity at St Andrews, under the professor, Dr Spence, for two or three sessions, but having engaged to teach a school, he found it more convenient to deliver the prescribed exercises before the professor in Edinburgh. On one of these occasions there took place a very singular occurrence, which the Doctor himself used to relate. Having come to Edinburgh for the express purpose of delivering a discourse in the hall, he waited upon his uncle, who was an excellent scholar. It was what is called "An Exercise and Addition," or a discourse, in which the words of the original are criticised—the doctrines they contain illustrated—and it is concluded by a brief paraphrase. He proposed to read it to his uncle before he delivered it—and when he was in the act of doing so, his respected relative objected to a criticism which he had introduced, and endeavoured to show that it was contrary to several passages in the writings of the apostle Paul. The doctor had prepared the exercise with great care, and had quoted the authority of Xenophon in regard to the meaning of the word. The old man got into a violent passion at his nephew's obstinacy, and seizing a huge folio that lay on the table, hurled it at the recusant's head, which it fortunately missed. Barclay, who really had a great esteem for his uncle, related the anecdote to a clergyman a few days after it happened, and laughed very heartily at it. Barclay wrote about this time, "A History of all Religions," but of this no trace was to be found among his manuscripts. Having delivered with approbation his trial discourses, he obtained license from the Presbytery of Dunkeld. Meanwhile he acted as tutor to the two sons of Sir James Campbell, of Aberuchill, whose daughter, Eleonora, in 1811, became his wife. In 1789 he accompanied his pupils to Edinburgh, where he preached occasionally for his friends. The medical school of Edinburgh was then at the height of its reputation. Cullen's brilliant career was drawing to a close, and he was succeeded by the celebrated Dr Gregory. Dr Black and the second Monro still shed lustre on their respective departments. Barclay was principally attracted to the anatomical class by the luminous prelections of Dr Monro, and appears to have thenceforward devoted himself to a complete course of medical study. In 1796 he took the degree of M.D., choosing as the subject of his

thesis, *De Anima, seu Principio Vitali*, the vital principle having long been with him a favourite topic of speculation. After graduation, Dr Barclay proceeded to London, and attended the anatomical lectures of Dr Marshall, of Thavies Inn. In 1797 he commenced to deliver private lectures on anatomy in a small class room in the High School-yards, Edinburgh, but had to contend with formidable difficulties; the popularity of the second Monro, and of the late John Bell, being still undiminished amongst the students. Dr Barclay, therefore, had few students at first; but he resolved to persevere. The introductory lectures (which, after his death, were published by his friend, Sir George Ballingall, M.D.) were prepared with scrupulous care. He studied to express himself in plain and perspicuous language, which he justly esteemed to be the chief quality of style in lecturing. His illustrations were clear and copious, and not unfrequently an apposite anecdote fixed more strongly in the memories of his pupils the particular part he was demonstrating; and, at a time when it was by no means fashionable, he never omitted to point out the wisdom of God, as displayed in that most wonderful of all his works, the formation and support of the human body.

Barclay's first literary performance was the article *Physiology*, in the third edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1803 he published a new anatomical nomenclature. This had been long the subject of his meditation, and was a great desideratum in anatomy. The vagueness or indefinite nature of the terms of anatomy has been perceived and regretted by all anatomists. They have produced much ambiguity and confusion in anatomical descriptions, and their influence has been strongly felt, particularly by those who have just entered upon the study. Barclay was the first who, fully aware of the obstacles that were thus thrown in the way of students, set about inventing a new nomenclature. The vagueness of the terms principally referred to those implying position, aspect, and direction. Thus, what is superior in one position of the body, becomes anterior in another, posterior in a third, and even inferior in a fourth. What is external in one position is internal in another, &c. These terms become much more ambiguous in comparative anatomy. His object was to contrive a nomenclature, in which the same terms should universally apply to the same organ, in all positions of the body, and in all animals. It is the opinion of very candid judges that he has succeeded in his endeavour, and that, were his nomenclature adopted, the greatest advantages would accrue to the study of the science. The proposal is delivered with singular modesty, and discovers both a most accurate knowledge of anatomy and great ingenuity.

In 1808, appeared his work on the muscular motions of the human body, and, in 1812, a description of the arteries of the human body—both of which contain a most complete account of those parts of the system. These three works were dedicated to the late Dr Thomas Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow. The last work which Dr Barclay lived to publish, was an inquiry into the opinions, ancient and modern, concerning life and organisation. This, as we have mentioned, formed the subject of his thesis.

He also delivered, during several summers, a course of lectures on comparative anatomy, a branch of study for which he had always shown a marked partiality—not only as an object of scientific research, but as of great practical utility. At one time he proposed to the town council, the patrons of the university of Edinburgh, to be created professor of that department of the science; how the proposal was received is not known. The writer of the memoir of Dr Barclay, in the Naturalist's Library, furnishes a characteristic illustration of the lively interest he felt in the dissections of uncommon animals which came in his way in the Scottish metropolis. "At one of these we happened to be present. It was the dissection of a Beluga, or White Whale. Never shall we forget the enthusiasm of the Doctor wading to his

knees amongst the viscera of the great tenant of the deep, alternately cutting away, with his large and dexterous knife, and regaling his nostrils with copious infusions of snuff, while he pointed out, in his usual felicitous manner, the various contrasts or agreements of the forms of the viscera with those of other animals and of man." Barclay was the means of establishing, under the auspices of the Highland Society, a veterinary school in Edinburgh. He might be called an enthusiast in his profession: there was no branch of anatomy, whether practical or theoretical, that he had not cultivated with the utmost care; he had studied the works of the ancient and modern, foreign and British anatomists with astonishing diligence. Whatever related to natural science was certain of interesting him. The benevolence and generosity of his temper were also unbounded. No teacher was ever more generally beloved by his pupils than Dr Barclay, to which his uniform kindness and affability, and readiness to promote their interest upon every occasion, greatly contributed. Many young men in straitened circumstances, were permitted to attend his instructions gratuitously; and he has even been known to furnish them with the means of seeing other lecturers.

It is a curious circumstance, that Dr Barclay often declared that he had neither the sense of taste nor of smell.

His last appearance in the lecture-room was in 1825, when he delivered the introductory lecture. He died 21st August, 1826, and was buried at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, the family burying-ground of his father-in-law, Sir James Campbell. His funeral was attended by the Royal College of Surgeons as a body.

A bust of Dr Barclay, subscribed for by his pupils, and executed by Joseph, was presented to the College of Surgeons, to which he bequeathed his museum—a valuable collection of specimens, particularly in comparative anatomy, and which is to retain his name. His design in this legacy was to prevent it from being broken up and scattered after his death.

BARCLAY, ROBERT, the celebrated Apologist for the Quakers, was born on the 23rd of December, 1648, at Gordonstoun, in Moray. His father, Colonel David Barclay, of Ury, was the son of David Barclay, of Mathers, the representative of an old Scoto-Norman family, which traced itself, through fifteen intervening generations, to Theobald de Berkeley, who acquired a settlement in Scotland at the beginning of the twelfth century. The mother of the Apologist was Catherine Gordon, daughter of Sir Robert Gordon, of Gordonstoun, the premier baronet of Nova Scotia, and well-known historian of the house of Sutherland.

The ancient family of de Berkeley became possessed of the estate of Mathers, by marriage, in the year 1351. Alexander de Berkeley, who flourished in the fifteenth century, is said to have been the first laird of Mathers who changed the name to Barclay; a change which says little for his taste, however recommended by that principle of literal and syllabic economy which seems to have flourished at all periods in a greater or less degree, though chiefly at the present era. This laird, however, is reputed to have been a scholar, and to him are attributed the excellent verses, known by the title of the LAIRD OF MATHERS' TESTAMENT, which, for their piety and good sense, cannot be too widely disseminated, or too warmly recommended. These verses are subjoined in the modified form under which they have come down traditionally to our time:

Gif thou desire thy house lang stand
And thy successors bruik thy land,
Above all things, lief God in fear,
Intromit nocht with wrangous gear;
Nor conquests¹ nothing wrangously;
With thy neighbour keep charity.

¹ Acquire.

See that that thou pass not thy estaté;
 Obey duly thy magistrate;
 Oppress not but support the pulre;
 To help the commonweill take cuire.
 Use no deceit; mell^s not with treason;
 And to all men do richt and reason.
 Both unto word and deld be true;
 All kinds of wickedness eschew.
 Slay no man; nor thereto consent;
 Be nocht cruel, but patient.
 Ally ay in some gude place,
 With noble, honest, godly, race.
 Hate huredom, and all vices flee;
 Be humble; haunt gude companye.
 Help thy friend, and do nae wrang,
 And God shall make thy house stand lang.

David, the grandfather of the Apologist, from neglect of some part of his ancestor's advice, was reduced to such difficulties as to be obliged to sell the estate of Mathers, after it had been between two and three hundred years in the family, as also the more ancient inheritance, which had been the property of the family from its first settlement in Scotland in the days of King David I. His son, David, the father of the Apologist, was consequently obliged to seek his fortune as a volunteer in the Scottish brigades in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This gentleman, like many others of his countrymen and fellow-soldiers, returned home on the breaking out of the religious troubles in Scotland, and received the command of a troop of horse. Having joined the army raised by the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 for the relief of Charles I., he was subsequently deprived of his command, at the instance of Oliver Cromwell; and he never afterwards appeared in any military transactions. During the protectorate, he was several times sent as a representative from Scotland to Cromwell's parliaments, and, in this capacity, is said to have uniformly exerted himself to repress the ambitious designs of the Protector. After the restoration, David Barclay was committed prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, upon some groundless charge of hostility to the government. He was soon after liberated, through the interest of the Earl of Middleton, with whom he had served in the civil war. But during this imprisonment, a change of the highest importance both to himself and his son, had come over his mind. In the same prison was confined the celebrated Laird of Swinton, who, after figuring under the protectorate as a lord of session, and a zealous instrument for the support of Cromwell's interest in Scotland, had, during a short residence in England before the Restoration, adopted the principles of Quakerism, then recently promulgated for the first time by George Fox, and was now more anxious to gain proselytes to that body than to defend his life against the prosecution meditated against him. When this extraordinary person was placed on trial before parliament, he might have easily eluded justice by pleading that the parliamentary attainder upon which he was now charged, had become null by the rescissory act. But he scorned to take advantage of any plea suggested by worldly lawyers. He answered, in the spirit of his sect, that when he committed the crimes laid to his charge, he was in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity, but that God having since called him to the light, he saw and acknowledged his past errors, and did not refuse to pay the forfeit of them, even though in their judgment this should extend to his life. His speech was, though modest, so majestic, and, though expressive of the most perfect patience, so pa-

• Meddle.

thetic, that it appeared to melt the hearts of his judges, and, to the surprise of all who remembered his past deeds, he was recommended to the royal mercy, while many others, far less obnoxious, were treated with unrelenting severity. Such was the man who inoculated David Barclay with those principles, of which his son was destined to be the most distinguished advocate.

Robert Barclay, the subject of the present article, received the rudiments of learning in his native country, and was afterwards sent to the Scots college at Paris, of which his uncle Robert (son to the last Barclay of Mathers,) was Rector. Here he made such rapid advances in his studies, as to gain the notice and praise of the masters of the college; and he also became so great a favourite with his uncle, as to receive the offer of being made his heir, if he would remain in France. But his father, fearing that he might be induced to embrace the catholic faith, went, in compliance with his mother's dying request, to Paris to bring him home, when he was not much more than sixteen years of age. The uncle still endeavoured to prevent his return, and proposed to purchase for him, and present to him immediately, an estate greater than his paternal one. Robert replied, "He is my father, and must be obeyed." Thus, even at a very early age, he showed how far he could prefer a sacred principle to any view of private interest, however dazzling. His uncle is said to have felt much chagrin at his refusal, and to have consequently left his property to the college, and to other religious houses in France.

The return of Robert Barclay to his native country took place in 1664, about two years before his father made open profession of the principles of the *Society of Friends*. He was now, even at the early age of sixteen, perfectly skilled in the French and Latin languages, the latter of which he could write and speak with wonderful fluency and correctness; he had also a competent knowledge of the sciences. With regard to the state of his feelings on the subject of religion at this early period of life, he says, in his *Treatise on Universal Love*: "My first education, from my infancy fell amongst the strictest sort of Calvinists; those of our country being generally acknowledged to be the severest of that sect; in the heat of zeal surpassing not only Geneva, from whence they derive their pedigree, but all other the reformed churches abroad, so called. I had scarce got out of my childhood, when I was, by the permission of Divine Providence, cast among the company of papists; and my tender years and immature capacity not being able to withstand and resist the insinuations that were used to proselyte me to that way, I became quickly defiled with the pollutions thereof, and continued therein for a time, until it pleased God, through his rich love and mercy, to deliver me out of those snares, and to give me a clear understanding of the evil of that way. In both these sects I had abundant occasion to receive impressions contrary to this principle of *love*: seeing the straitness of several of their doctrines, as well as their practice of persecution, do abundantly declare how opposite they are to universal love. The time that intervened betwixt my forsaking the church of Rome, and joining those with whom I now stand engaged, I kept myself free from joining with any sort of people, though I took liberty to hear several; and my converse was most with those that inveigh much against *judging*, and such kind of severity; which latitude may perhaps be esteemed the other extreme, opposite to the preciseness of these other sects; whereby I also received an opportunity to know what usually is *pretended* on that side likewise. As for those I am now joined to, I justly esteem them to be the true followers and servants of Jesus Christ."

In his *Apology*, he communicates the following account of his conversion to the principles previously embraced by his father. "It was not," he says, "by strength of argument, or by a particular disquisition of each doctrine, and con-

vincement of my understanding thereby, that I came to receive and bear witness of the truth, but by being secretly reached by this Life. For when I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power amongst them which touched my heart; and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up; and so I became thus knit and united unto them, hungering more and more after the increase of this power and life, whereby I might find myself perfectly redeemed." According to his friend William Penn, it was in the year 1667, when only nineteen years of age, that he fully became "convinced, and publicly owned the testimony of the true light, enlightening every man." "This writer," says he, "came early forth a zealous and fervent witness for it [the true light], enduring the cross and despising the shame that attended his discipleship, and received the gift of the ministry as his greatest honour, in which he laboured to bring others to God, and his labour was not in vain in the Lord." The testimony of another of his brethren, Andrew Jaffray, is to the same effect: "Having occasion, through his worthy father, to be in the meetings of God's chosen people, who worship him in his own name, spirit, and power, and not in the words of man's wisdom and preparation, he was, by the virtue and efficacious life of this blessed power, shortly after reached, and that in a time of silence, a mystery to the world, and came so fast to grow therein, through his great love and watchfulness to the inward appearance thereof, that, not long after, he was called out to the public ministry, and declaring abroad that his eyes had seen and his hands had handled of the pure word of life. Yea the Lord, who loved him, counted him worthy so early to call him to some weighty and hard services for his truth in our nation, that, a little after his coming out of the age of minority, as it is called, he was made willing, in the day of God's power, to give up his body as a sign and wonder to this generation, and to deny himself and all in him as a man so far as to become a fool, for his sake whom he loved, in going in sackcloth and ashes through the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen, besides some services at several steeple-houses and some sufferings in prison for the truth's sake."

The true grounds of Barclay's predilection for the meek principles of the Friends, is perhaps to be found in his physical temperament. On arriving in Scotland, in 1664, with a heart open to every generous impulse, his mild nature appears, from one of the above extracts of his own writings, to have been shocked by the mutual hostility which existed between the adherents of the established and the dis-established churches. While these bodies *judged* of each other in the severest spirit, they joined in one point alone—a sense of the propriety of persecuting the new and strange sect called Quakers, from whom both might rather have learned a lesson of forbearance and toleration. Barclay, who, from his French education, was totally free of all prejudices on either side, seems to have deliberately preferred that sect which alone, of all others in his native country, professed to regard every denomination of fellow-Christians with an equal feeling of kindness.

In February, 1669-70, Robert Barclay married Christian Mollison, daughter of Gilbert Mollison, merchant in Aberdeen; and on his marriage settled at Ury with his father. The issue of this marriage was three sons and four daughters, all of whom survived him, and were living fifty years after his death. In the life of John Gratton, there is an agreeable and instructive account of this excellent mother's solicitude to imbue the tender minds of her children with pious and good principles. The passage is as follows: "I observed (1694, her husband being then dead,) that when her children were up in the morning and dressed, she sat down with them, before breakfast, and in a religious manner waited upon the Lord: which pious care, and motherly instruction of her chil-

dren when young, doubtless had its desired effect upon them, for as they grew in years, they also grew in the knowledge of the blessed truth; and since that time, some of them have become public preachers thereof." Believing it to be her duty to appear a preacher of righteousness, she was very solicitous that her example might, in all respects, correspond with her station.

Robert Barclay, after his marriage, lived about sixteen years with his father; in which time he wrote most of those works by which his fame has been established. All his time, however, was not passed in endeavouring to serve the cause of religion with his pen. He both acted and suffered for it. His whole existence, indeed, seems to have been henceforth devoted to the interests of that profession of religion which he had adopted. In prosecution of his purpose, he made a number of excursions into England, Holland, and particular parts of Germany; teaching, as he went along, the universal and saving light of Christ, sometimes vocally, but as often, we may suppose, by what he seems to have considered the far more powerful manner, expressive silence. In these peregrinations, the details of which, had they been preserved, would have been deeply interesting, he was on some occasions accompanied by the famous William Penn, and probably also by others of the brethren.

The first of his publications in the order of time was, "Truth cleared of Calumnies, occasioned by a book entitled, A Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian, written by the Rev. William Mitchell, a minister or preacher in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen." "The Quakers," says a defender of the Scottish church, "were, at this time, only newly risen up; they were, like every new sect, obtrusively forward; some of their tenets were of a startling, and some of them of an incomprehensible kind, and to the rigid presbyterians especially, they were exceedingly offensive. Hearing these novel opinions, not as simply stated and held by the Quakers, who were, generally speaking, no great logicians, but in their remote consequences, they regarded them with horror, and in the heat of their zeal, it must be confessed, often lost sight both of charity and truth. They thus gave their generally passive opponents great advantages over them. Barclay, who was a man of great talents, was certainly in this instance successful in refuting many false charges, and rectifying many forced constructions that had been put upon parts of their practice, and, upon the whole, setting the character of his silent brethren in a more favourable light than formerly, though he was far from having demonstrated, as these brethren fondly imagined, 'the soundness and scripture verity of their principles.'" This publication was dated at Ury, the 19th of the second Month, 1670, and in the eleventh month of the same year, he added to it, by way of appendix, "Some things of weighty concernment proposed in meekness and love, by way of queries, to the serious consideration of the inhabitants of Aberdeen, which also may be of use to such as are of the same mind with them elsewhere in this nation." These queries, twenty in number, were more particularly directed to Messrs David Lyl, George Meldrum, and John Menzies, the ministers of Aberdeen who had, not only from the pulpit, forbidden their people to read the aforesaid treatise, but had applied to the magistrates of Aberdeen to suppress it. Mitchell wrote a reply to "Truth cleared of calumnies," and, on the 24th day of the tenth Month, 1671, Barclay finished a rejoinder at Ury, under the title of "William Mitchell unmasked, or the staggering instability of the pretended stable Christian discovered; his omissions observed, and weakness unveiled," &c. This goes over the same ground with the former treatise, and is seasoned with several severe strokes of sarcasm against these Aberdonians, who, "notwithstanding they had sworn to avoid a *detestable neutrality*, could now preach under the bishop, dispense with the doxology, forbear lecturing and other parts of the Directorial discipline, at the bishop's order, and yet keep a reserve for

presbytery in case it came again in fashion." He also turns some of William Mitchell's arguments against himself with great ingenuity, though still he comes far short of establishing his own theory. It is worthy of remark, that, in this treatise, he has frequent recourse to Richard Baxter's aphorisms on justification, whose new law scheme of the gospel seems to have been very much to the taste of the Quaker. It appears to have been on the appearance of this publication that, "for a sign and wonder to the generation," he walked through the chief streets of the city of Aberdeen, clothed in sackcloth and ashes; on which occasion he published (in 1672) a "Seasonable warning and serious exhortation to, and expostulation with, the inhabitants of Aberdeen, concerning this present dispensation and day of God's living visitation towards them."

His next performance was, "A Catechism and Confession of Faith," the answers to the questions being all in the express words of Scripture; and the preface to it is dated, "From Ury, the place of my being, in my native country of Scotland, the 11th of the sixth month, 1673." This was followed by "The Anarchy of the Ranters," &c.

We now come to his great work, "An Apology for the true Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people called in scorn, Quakers: Being a full explanation and vindication of their principles and doctrines, by many arguments deduced from Scripture and right reason, and the testimonies of famous authors, both ancient and modern; with a full answer to the strongest objections usually made against them. Presented to the King. Written and published in Latin for the information of strangers, by Robert Barclay, and now put into our own language for the benefit of his countrymen." The epistle to the King, prefixed to this elaborate work, is dated, "From Ury, the place of my pilgrimage, in my native country of Scotland, the 25th of the month called November, 1675." This epistle is not a little curious, among other things, for the ardent anticipations which the writer indulges with regard to the increase and future prevalence of the doctrines of the Quakers, which he calls, "the gospel now again revealed after a long and dark night of apostacy, and commanded to be preached to all nations." After some paragraphs, sufficiently complimentary to the peaceable habits of his silence-loving brethren, he tells his majesty that "generations to come will not more admire that singular step of Divine Providence, in restoring thee to thy throne without bloodshed, than they shall admire the increase and progress of this truth without all outward help, and against so great opposition, which shall be none of the least things rendering thy memory remarkable." In looking back upon the atrocities that marked the reign of Charles II., the growth of Quakerism is scarcely ever thought of, and the sufferings of its professors are nearly invisible, by reason of the far greater sufferings of another branch of the Christian church. Though led by his enthusiasm in his own cause to overrate it, Barclay certainly had no intention of flattering the King. "God," he goes on to tell him, "hath done great things for thee; he hath sufficiently shown thee that it is by him princes rule, and that he can pull down and set up at his pleasure. Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be overruled as well as to rule and sit upon the throne, and being oppressed thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man. If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation."

The Apology is a most elaborate work, indicating no small portion of both talent and learning. It contains, indeed, the sum of the author's thoughts in those treatises we have already mentioned, as well as in those which he afterwards published, digested into fifteen propositions, in which are included all the peculiar notions of

the sect:—Immediate Revelation; the Universal Spiritual light; Silent worship; Perfection; the Rejection of the Sabbath and the Sacraments, &c., &c. This is done with great apparent simplicity, and many plausible reasons, a number of excellent thoughts being struck out by the way; yet they are far from being satisfactory, and never will be so to any who are not already strongly possessed with an idea of the internal light in man, to which the author holds even the Scriptures themselves to be subordinate. There are, indeed, in the book, many sophisms, many flat contradictions, and many assertions that are incapable of any proof. The appeals which he makes to his own experience for the proof of his doctrines are often not a little curious, and strongly illustrative of his character, as well as of the principles he had espoused.

The same year in which he published the Apology, he published an account of a dispute with the students of Aberdeen, which touches little besides the folly of such attempts to establish truth or confute error. The following year, in conjunction with George Keith, he put forth a kind of second part to the foregoing article, which they entitled, "Quakerism Confirmed, being an answer to a pamphlet by the Aberdeen students, entitled, Quakerism Canvassed." This treats only of matters to be found in a better form in the Apology. In the first month of the year 1677, from Aberdeen prison, he wrote his treatise of "Universal Love," and in the end of the same year, he wrote, from his house at Ury, "An Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice to the Ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, met at Nimeguen, to consult the peace of Christendom so far as they are concerned; wherein the true cause of the present war is discovered, and the right remedy and means for a firm and settled peace is proposed." This last was written in Latin, but published also in English for the benefit of his countrymen. Both of the above tracts deserve serious perusal. In 1679, he published a vindication of his Apology, and in 1686, his last work, "The possibility and necessity of the inward and immediate revelation of the Spirit of God towards the foundation and ground of true faith; in a letter to a person of quality in Holland," published both in Latin and English. In neither of these, in our opinion, has he added anything to his Apology, which, as we have already said, contains the sum of all that he has written or published.

In the latter part of his life, Barclay obtained, by the influence of his talents and the sincerity and simplicity of his character and professions, an exemption from that persecution which marked his early years. He had also contributed in no small degree, by the eloquence of his writings in defence of the Friends, to procure for them a considerable share of public respect. He is even found, strangely enough, to have latterly possessed some influence at the dissolute court of Charles II. In 1679, he obtained a charter from this monarch, under the great seal, erecting his lands of Ury,¹ into a free barony, with civil and criminal jurisdiction to him and his heirs. This charter was afterwards ratified by an act of Parliament, the preamble of which states it to be "for the many services done by Colonel David Barclay, and his son, the said Robert Barclay, to the King and his most royal progenitors in times past." Another and more distinguished mark of court favour was conferred upon him in 1682, when he received the nominal appointment of governor of East Jersey, in North America, from the proprietors of that province, of whom his friend the Earl of Perth was one. He was also himself made a proprietor, and had allotted to him five thousand acres of land above his proprietary share, as inducements for his acceptance of the dignity, which, at the same time, he was permitted to depute. The royal commission confirming this grant states, that such are his known fidelity and capacity, that he has the government during life, but that no other governor

¹ His father had died in 1676, leaving him in possession of this estate.

after him shall have it for more than three years. One of his brothers settled in the province, but he never visited it himself. In this year we find him assisting the Laird of Swinton with his interest and purse at Edinburgh; thus answering practically and freely the apostolic exhortation (1 Cor. ix. 11.), by permitting Swinton to reap carnal things, who had sown spiritual things to his family.

The remainder of his life is not marked with many instances of public action. Much of it appears to have been passed in tranquillity, and in the bosom of his family; yet he occasionally undertook journeys to promote his private concerns, to serve his relations and neighbours, or to maintain the cause of his brethren in religious profession. He was in London in 1685, and had frequent access to King James II., who had all along evinced a warm friendship towards him. Barclay, on the other hand, thinking James sincere in his faith, and perhaps influenced a little by the flattery of a prince's favour, appears to have conceived a real regard for this misguided and imprudent monarch. Liberty of conscience having been conceded to the Friends on the accession of James II., Barclay exerted his influence to procure some parliamentary arrangement, by which they might be exempted from the harsh and ruinous prosecutions to which they were exposed, in consequence of their peculiar notions as to the exercise of the law. He was again in London, on this business, in 1686, on which occasion he visited the seven bishops, then confined in the Tower, for having refused to distribute in their respective dioceses the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, and for having represented to the king the grounds of their objection to the measure. The popular opinion was in favour of the bishops; yet the former severities of some of the episcopal order against dissenters, particularly against the Friends, occasioned some reflections on them. This having come to the knowledge of the imprisoned bishops, they declared that, "the Quakers had belied them, by reporting that they had been the death of some." Robert Barclay, being informed of this declaration, went to the Tower, and gave their lordships a well-substantiated account of some persons having been detained in prison till death, by order of bishops, though they had been apprized of the danger by physicians who were not Quakers. He, however, observed to the bishops, that it was by no means the intention of the Friends to publish such events, and thereby give the king, and their other adversaries, any advantage against them. Barclay was in London, for the last time, in the memorable year 1688. He visited James II., and being with him near a window, the king looked out, and observed that, "the wind was then fair for the prince of Orange to come over." Robert Barclay replied, "it was hard that no expedient could be found to satisfy the people." The king declared, "he would do any thing becoming a gentleman, except parting with liberty of conscience, which he never would whilst he lived." At that time Barclay took a final leave of the unfortunate king, for whose disasters he was much concerned, and with whom he had been several times engaged in serious discourse at that time.

Robert Barclay "laid down the body," says Andrew Jaffray, "in the holy and honourable truth, wherein he had served it about three and twenty years, upon the 3rd day of the eighth month, 1690, near the forty and second year of his age, at his own house of Urie, in Scotland, and it was laid in his own burial ground there, upon the 6th day of the same month, before many friends and other people." His character has been thus drawn by another of the amicable fraternity to which he belonged:—²

"He was distinguished by strong mental powers, particularly by great penetration, and a sound and accurate judgment. His talents were much improved

² A short account of the Life and Writings of Robert Barclay, London, 1802.

by a regular and classical education. It does not, however, appear that his superior qualifications produced that elation of mind, which is too often their attendant: he was meek, humble, and ready to allow to others the merit they possessed. All his passions were under the most excellent government. Two of his intimate friends, in their character of him, declare that they never knew him to be angry. He had the happiness of early perceiving the infinite superiority of religion to every other attainment; and the Divine grace enabled him to dedicate his life, and all that he possessed, to promote the cause of piety and virtue. For the welfare of his friends he was sincerely and warmly concerned: and he travelled and wrote much, as well as suffered cheerfully, in support of the society and the principles to which he had conscientiously attached himself. But this was not a blind and bigoted attachment. His zeal was tempered with charity; and he loved and respected goodness wherever he found it. His uncorrupted integrity and liberality of sentiment, his great abilities and suavity of disposition, gave him much interest with persons of rank and influence, and he employed it in a manner that marked the benevolence of his heart. He loved peace, and was often instrumental in settling disputes, and in producing reconciliations between contending parties.

"In support and pursuit of what he believed to be right, he possessed great firmness of mind; which was early evinced in the pious and dutiful sentiment he expressed to his uncle, who tempted him with great offers to remain in France, against the desire of his father: 'He is my father,' said he, 'and he must be obeyed.' All the virtues harmonize, and are connected with one another: this firm and resolute spirit in the prosecution of duty, was united with great sympathy and compassion towards persons in affliction and distress. They were consoled by his tenderness, assisted by his advice, and occasionally relieved by his bounty. His spiritual discernment and religious experience, directed by that Divine influence which he valued above all things, eminently qualified him to instruct the ignorant, to reprove the irreligious, to strengthen the feeble-minded, and to animate the advanced Christian to still greater degrees of virtue and holiness.

"In private life he was equally amiable. His conversation was cheerful, guarded, and instructive. He was a dutiful son, an affectionate and faithful husband, a tender and careful father, a kind and considerate master. Without exaggeration, it may be said, that piety and virtue were recommended by his example; and that, though the period of his life was short, he had, by the aid of Divine grace, most wisely and happily improved it. He lived long enough to manifest, in an eminent degree, the temper and conduct of a Christian, and the virtues and qualifications of a true minister of the gospel."

BARCLAY, WILLIAM, an eminent civilian, and father of the still more celebrated author of the *Argenis*, was descended from one of the best families in Scotland under the rank of nobility, and was born in Aberdeenshire, in 1541. He spent his early years in the court of Queen Mary, with whom he was in high favour. After her captivity in England, disgusted with the turbulent state of his native country, which promised no advantage to a man of learning, he removed to France (1573), and began to study the law at Bourges. Having in time qualified himself to teach the civil law, he was appointed by the Duke of Lorraine, through the recommendation of his relation Edmund Hay, the Jesuit, to be a professor of that science in the university of Pontamousson, being at the same time counsellor of state and master of requests to his princely patron. In 1581, he married Anne de Maleville, a young lady of Lorraine, by whom he had his son John, the subject of the following article. This youth showed tokens of genius at an early period, and was sought from his father by the Jesuits, that he might enter

their society. The father, thinking proper to refuse the request, became an object of such wrath to that learned and unscrupulous fraternity, that he was compelled to abandon all his preferments, and seek refuge in England. This was in 1603, just at the time when his native sovereign had acceded to the throne of England. James I. offered him a pension, and a place in his councils, on condition that he would embrace the protestant faith; but though indignant at the intrigues of the Jesuits, he would not desert their religion. In 1604, he returned to France, and became professor of civil law at Angers, where he taught for a considerable time with high reputation. It is said that he entertained a very high sense of the dignity of his situation. He used to "go to school every day, attended by a servant who went before him, himself having a rich robe lined with ermine, the train of which was supported by two servants, and his son upon his right hand; and there hung about his neck a great chain of gold, with a medal of gold, with his own picture." Such was, in those days, the pomp and circumstance of the profession of civil law. He did not long enjoy this situation, dying towards the close of 1605. He is allowed to have been very learned, not only in the civil and canon law, but in the classical languages, and in ecclesiastical history. But his prejudices were of so violent a nature as to obscure both his genius and erudition. He zealously maintained the absolute power of monarchs, and had an illiberal antipathy to the protestant religion. His works are, 1, a controversial treatise on the royal power, against Buchanan and other king-killers, Paris, 1600; 2, a treatise on the power of the Pope, showing that he has no right of rule over secular princes, 1609; 3, a commentary on the title of the pandects *de rebus creditis*, &c; 4, a commentary on Tacitus's Life of Agricola. All these works, as well as their titles, are in Latin.

BARCLAY, JOHN, son of William Barclay, was born at Pontamousson in France, January 28, 1582, and was educated under the care of Jesuits. When only nineteen years old, he published notes on the Thebais of Statius. He was, as above stated, the innocent cause of a quarrel between his father and the Jesuits, in consequence of which the family removed to England, in 1603. At the beginning of 1604, young Barclay presented a poetical panegyric to the king, under the title of *Kalends Januariæ*. To this monarch he soon after dedicated the first part of his celebrated Latin satire entitled, *Euphormion*. John Barclay, like many young men of genius, was anxious for distinction, *quocunque modo*, and, having an abundant conceit of his own abilities, and looking upon all other men as only fit to furnish him with matter of ridicule, he launched at the very first into the dangerous field of general satire. He confesses in the apology which he afterwards published for his *Euphormion*, that, "as soon as he left school, a juvenile desire of fame incited him to *attack the whole world*, rather with a view of promoting his own reputation, than of dishonouring individuals." We must confess that this grievous early fault of Barclay was only the transgression of a very spirited character. He says, in his dedication of *Euphormion* to King James, written when he was two-and-twenty, that he was ready, in the service of his Majesty, to convert his pen into a sword, or his sword into a pen. His prospects at this court were unfortunately blighted, like those of his father, by the religious contests of the time; and in 1604 the family returned to France. John, however, appears to have spent the next year chiefly in England, probably upon some renewal of his prospects at the court of King James. In 1606, after the death of his father, he returned to France, and at Paris married Louisa Debonnaire, with whom he soon after settled at London. Here he published the second part of his *Euphormion*, dedicating it to the Earl of Salisbury, a minister in whom he could find no fault but his *excess of virtue*. Lord Hailes remarks, as a surprising circumstance, that the writer who could discover no faults

in Salisbury, aimed the shafts of ridicule at Sully; but nothing can be less surprising in such a person as Barclay. A man who satirized only for the sake of personal *eclat*, would as easily flatter in gratitude for the least notice. It should also be recollected, that many minds do not, till the approach of middle life, acquire the power of judging accurately regarding virtue and vice, or merit and demerit: all principles, in such minds, are jumbled like the elements of the earth in chaos, and are only at length reduced to order by the overmastering influence of the understanding. In the disposition which seems to have characterized Barclay, for flattering those who patronised him, he endeavoured to please King James, in the second part of the *Euphormion*, by satirizing tobacco and the puritans. In this year he also published an account of the gun-powder plot, a work remarked to be singularly impartial, considering the religion of the writer. During the course of three years' residence in England, Barclay received no token of the royal liberality. Sunk in indigence, with an increasing family calling for support, he only wished to be indemnified for his English journeys, and to have his charges defrayed into France. At length he was relieved from his distresses by his patron Salisbury. Of these circumstances, so familiar and so discouraging to men of letters, we are informed by some allegorical and obscure verses written by Barclay at that sad season. Having removed to France in 1609, he next year published his *Apology for the Euphormion*. This denotes that he came to see the folly of a general contempt for mankind at the age of twenty-eight. How he supported himself at this time, does not appear; but he is found, in 1614, publishing his *Icon Animarum*, which is declared by a competent critic to be the best, though not the most celebrated of his works. It is a delineation of the genius and manners of the European nations, with remarks, moral and philosophical, on the various tempers of men. It is pleasant to observe that in this work he does justice to the Scottish people. In 1615, Barclay is said to have been invited by Pope Paul V. to Rome. He had previously lashed the holy court in no measured terms; but so marked a homage from this quarter to his distinction in letters, as usual, softened his feelings, and he now accordingly shifted his family thither, and lived the rest of his life under the protection of the pontiff. In 1617, he published at Rome his "*Parænesis ad Sectarios, Libri Duo*;" a work in which he seems to have aimed at atoning for his former sarcasms at the Pope, by attacking those whom his holiness called heretics. Barclay seems to have been honoured with many marks of kindness, not only from the Pope, but also from Cardinal Barberini; yet it does not appear that he obtained much emolument. Incumbered with a wife and family, and having a spirit above his fortune, he was left at full leisure to pursue his studies. It was at that time that he composed his Latin romance called *Argenis*. He employed his vacant hours in cultivating a flower garden; and Rossi relates, in his turgid Italian style, that Barclay cared not for those bulbous roots which produce flowers of a sweet scent, but cultivated such as produced flowers void of smell, but having variety of colours. Hence we may conclude that he was among the first of those who were infected with that strange disease, a passion for tulips, which soon after overspread Europe, and is commemorated under the name of the *Tulipo-mania*. Barclay might truly have said with Virgil, "*Tantus amor florum!*" He had two mastiffs placed as sentinels to protect his garden; and rather than abandon his favourite flowers, chose to continue his residence in an ill-aired and unwholesome situation.

This extraordinary genius, who seems to have combined the *perfervidum ingenium* of his father's country, with the mercurial vivacity of his mother's, died at Rome on the 12th of August, 1621, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He left a wife, who had tormented him much with jealousy, (through the ardour of

her affection, as he explained it), besides three children, of whom two were boys. He also left, in the hands of the printer, his celebrated *Argenis*, and also an unpublished history of the conquest of Jerusalem, and some fragments of a general history of Europe. He was buried in the church of St Onuphrius, and his widow erected a monument to him, with his bust in marble, at the church of St Lawrence, on the road to Tivoli. A strange circumstance caused the destruction of this trophy. Cardinal Barberini chanced to erect a monument, exactly similar, at the same place, to his preceptor, *Bernardus Gulienus a monte Sancti Sabini*. When the widow of Barclay heard of this, she said, "My husband was a man of birth, and famous in the literary world; I will not suffer him to remain on a level with a base and obscure pedagogue." She therefore caused the bust to be removed, and the inscription to be obliterated. The account given of the *Argenis*, by Lord Hailes, who wrote a life of John Barclay as a specimen of a *Biographia Scotica*,¹ is as follows: "*Argenis* is generally supposed to be a history under feigned names, and not a romance. Barclay himself contributed to establish this opinion, by introducing some real characters into the work. But that was merely to compliment certain dignitaries of the church, whose good offices he courted, or whose power he dreaded. The key prefixed to *Argenis* has perpetuated the error. There are, no doubt, many incidents in it that allude to the state of France during the civil wars in the seventeenth century; but it requires a strong imagination indeed to discover Queen Elizabeth in Hyacinthe, or Henry III. of France in Meleander." On the whole, *Argenis* appears to be a poetical fable, replete with moral and political reflections. Of this work three English translations have appeared, the last in 1773; but it now only enjoys the reflective reputation of a work that was once in high repute. We may quote, however, the opinion which Cowper was pleased to express regarding this singular production. "It is," says the poet of Olney, "the most amusing romance that ever was written. It is the only one, indeed, of an old date, that I had ever the patience to go through with. It is interesting in a high degree, richer in incident than can be imagined, full of surprises, which the reader never foretells, and yet free from entanglement and confusion. The style too, appears to me to be such as would not dishonour Tacitus himself."

BASSANTIN, or BASSANTOUN, JAMES, astronomer and mathematician, was the son of the Laird of Bassantin, in Berwickshire, and probably born in the early part of the sixteenth century. Being sent to study at the University of Glasgow, he applied himself almost exclusively to mathematics, to the neglect of languages and philosophy, which were then the most common study. In order to prosecute mathematics more effectually than it was possible to do in his own country, he went abroad, and travelled through the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany; fixing himself at last in France, where for a considerable time he taught his favourite science with high reputation in the University of Paris. In that age, the study of astronomy was inseparable from astrology, and Bassantin became a celebrated proficient in this pretended science, which was then highly cultivated in France, inasmuch that it entered more or less into almost all public affairs, and nearly every court in Europe had its astrologer. Bassantin, besides his attainments in astrology, understood the laws of the heavens to an extent which excited the wonder of the age—especially, when it was considered that he had scarcely any knowledge of the Greek or Latin languages, in which all that was formerly known of this science had been embodied. But, as may be easily conceived, astronomy was as yet a most imperfect science; the Copernican system, which forms the groundwork of modern astronomy, was not yet discovered or acknowledged; and all that was really known had

¹ Printed in 4to, in 1782, and the ground-work of the present sketch.

in time become so inextricably associated with the dreams of astrology, as to be entitled to little respect. Bassantin returned to his native country in 1562, and in passing through England, met with Sir Robert Melville of Mordecainry, who was then engaged in a diplomatic mission from Mary to Elizabeth, for the purpose of bringing about a meeting between the two queens. A curious account of this rencontre is preserved by Sir James Melville in his Memoirs, and, as it is highly illustrative of the character and pretensions of Bassantin, we shall lay it before the reader. "Ane Bassantin, a Scottis man, that had been travelit, and was learnit in high scyences, cam to him [Sir Robert Melville] and said, 'Gud gentilman, I hear sa gud report of you that I love you hartly, and therefore canot forbear to shaw you, how all your upricht dealing and your honest travell will be in vain, where ye believe to obtain a weall for our Quen at the Quen of Englandis handis. You bot tyne your tyme; for, first, they will never meit together, and next, there will never be bot dissembling and secret hattrent for a whyle, and at length captivity and utter wrak for our Quen by England.' My brother's answer again was, that he lyked not to heir of sic devilisch newes, nor yet wald he credit them in any sort, as false, ungodly, and unlawfull for Christians to medle them with. Bassantin answered again, 'Gud Mester Melvill, tak not that hard opinion of me; I am a Christian of your religion, and fears God, and purposes never to cast myself in any of the unlawful artis that ye mean of, bot sa far as Melanthon, wha was a Godly theologue, has declared and written anent the naturall scyences, that are lawfull and daily red in dyvers Christian Universities; in the quhilkis, as in all othir artis, God geves to some less, to some mair and clearer knowlege than till others; be the quhilk knowlege I have also that at length, that the kingdom of England sall of rycht fall to the crown of Scotland, and that ther are some born at this instant, that sall bruik lands and heritages in England. Bot alace it will cost many their lyves, and many bludy battailes wilbe fouchten first, or [ere] it tak a sattled effect; and be my knowlege,' said he, 'the Spaniartis will be helpers, and will tak a part to themselves for ther labours, quhilk they wilbe laith to leve again.'" If the report of this conference be quite faithful, we must certainly do Bassantin the justice to say, that the most material part of his prophecy came to pass; though it might be easy for him to see that, as the sovereign of Scotland was heiress-presumptive to the crown of England, she or her heirs had a near prospect of succeeding. How Bassantin spent his time in Scotland does not appear; but, as a good protestant, he became a warm supporter of the Earl of Murray, then struggling for the ascendancy. He died in 1568. His works are, 1, A System of Astronomy, published for the third time in 1593, by John Tornæsius. 2, A Treatise of the Astrolabe, published at Lyons in 1555, and reprinted at Paris in 1617. 3, A Pamphlet on the Calculation of Nativities. 4, A Treatise on Arithmetic. 5, Music on the Principles of the Platonists. 6, On Mathematics in general. It is understood that, in the composition of these works, he required considerable literary assistance, being only skilled in his own language, which was never then made the vehicle of scientific discussion.

BASSOL, JOHN, a distinguished disciple of the famous Duns Scotus, is stated by Mackenzie to have been born in the reign of Alexander III. He studied under Duns at Oxford, and with him, in 1304, removed to Paris, where he resided some time in the University, and, in 1313, entered the order of the Minorites. After this he was sent by the general of his order to Rheims, where he applied himself to the study of medicine, and taught philosophy for seven or eight years. In 1322, he removed to Mechlin in Brabant, and after teaching theology in that city for five and twenty years, died in 1347.

Bassol's only work was one entitled, "Commentaria Seu Lecturæ in Quatuor

Libros Sententiarum," to which were attached some miscellaneous papers on Philosophy and Medicine. The book was published in folio at Paris, in 1517. Bassol was known by the title, *Doctor Ordinatissimus*, or the most Methodical Doctor, on account of the clear and accurate method in which he lectured and composed. The fashion of giving such titles to the great masters of the schools was then in its prime. Thus, Duns Scotus himself was styled *Doctor Subtilis*, or the *Subtle Doctor*. St Francis of Assis was called the *Seraphic Doctor*; Alexander Hales the *Irrefragable Doctor*; Thomas Aquinas the *Angelical Doctor*; Hendricus Bonicollus the *Solemn Doctor*; Richard Middleton the *Solid Doctor*; Francis Mayron the *Acute Doctor*; Durandus à S. Portiano the *most Resolute Doctor*; Thomas Bredwardin the *Profound Doctor*; Joannes Ruysbrokius the *Divine Doctor*, and so forth; the title being in every case founded upon some extravagant conception of the merit of the particular individual, adopted by his contemporaries and disciples. In this extraordinary class of *literati*, John Bassol, as implied by his *soubriquet*, shines conspicuous for order and method; yet we are told that his works contain most of the faults which are generally laid to the charge of the schoolmen. The chief of these is an irrational devotion to the philosophy of Aristotle, as expounded by Thomas Aquinas. In the early ages of modern philosophy, this most splendid exertion of the human mind was believed to be irreconcilable to the Christian doctrines; and at the very time when the Angelical Doctor wrote his commentary, it stood prohibited by a decree of Pope Gregory IX. The illustrious Thomas not only restored Aristotle to favour, but inspired his followers with an admiration of his precepts, which, as already mentioned, was not rational. Not less was their admiration of the "angelical" commentator, to whom it was long the fashion among them to offer an incense little short of blasphemy. A commentator upon an original work of Thomas Aquinas, endeavours, in a prefatory discourse, to prove, in so many chapters, that he wrote his books not without the special infusion of the spirit of God Almighty; that, in writing them, he received many things by revelation; and, that Christ had given anticipatory testimony to his writings. By way of bringing the works of St Thomas into direct comparison with the Holy Scriptures, the same writer remarks, "that, as in the first General Councils of the church, it was common to have the Bible unfolded upon the Altar, so, in the last General Council (that of Trent), St Thomas' 'Sum' was placed beside the Bible, as an inferior rule of Christian doctrine." Peter Labbé, a learned Jesuit, with scarcely less daring flattery, styles St Thomas an angel, and says that, as he learned many things from the angels, so he taught the angels some things; that St Thomas had said what St Paul was not permitted to utter; and that he speaks of God as if he had seen him, and of Christ as if he had been his voice. One might almost suppose that these learned gentlemen, disregarding the sentiment afterwards embodied by Gray, that flattery soothes not the cold ear of death, endeavoured by their praises to make interest with the "angelical" shade, not doubting that he was able to obtain for them a larger share of paradise than they could otherwise hope for. In the words of the author of the *Reflections on Learning*, "the sainted Thomas, if capable of hearing these inordinate flatteries, must have blushed to receive them."

Bassol was also characterised, in common with all the rest of the schoolmen, by a ridiculous nicety in starting questions and objections. Overlooking the great moral aim of what they were expounding, he and his fellows lost themselves in minute and subtle inquiries after physical exactness, started at every straw which lay upon their path, and measured the powers of the mind by grains and scruples. It must be acknowledged, in favour of this singular class of men, that they improved natural reason to a great height, and that much of what

is most admired in modern philosophy is only borrowed from them. At the same time, their curiosity in raising and prosecuting frivolous objections to the Christian system is to be regretted as the source of much scepticism and irreligion. To many of their arguments, ridicule only is due; and it would perhaps be impossible for the gravest to restrain a smile at the illustrissimo mentioned by Cardan, one of whose arguments was declared to be enough to puzzle all posterity, and who himself wept in his old age, because he had become unable to understand his own books.

The works of Bassol have been long forgotten, like those of his brethren; but it is not too much to say regarding this great man of a former day, that the same powers of mind which he spent upon the endless intricacies of the school philosophy, would certainly, in another age and sphere, have tended to the permanent advantage of his fellow creatures. He was so much admired by his illustrious preceptor, that that great man used to say, "If only Joannes Bassiolis be present, I have a sufficient auditory."

BAXTER, ANDREW, an ingenious moral and natural philosopher, was the son of a merchant in Old Aberdeen, and of Mrs Elizabeth Fraser, a lady connected with some of the considerable families of that name in the north of Scotland. He was born at Old Aberdeen, in 1686 or 1687, and educated at the King's College, in his native city. His employment in early life was that of a preceptor to young gentlemen; and among others of his pupils were Lord Gray, Lord Blantyre, and Mr Hay of Drummekzier. In 1723, while resident at Dunse Castle, as preceptor to the last-mentioned gentleman, he is known, from letters which passed between him and Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kaimes, to have been deeply engaged in both physical and metaphysical disquisitions. As Mr Home's paternal seat of Kaimes was situated within a few miles of Dunse Castle, the similarity of their pursuits appears to have brought them into an intimate friendship and correspondence. This, however, was soon afterwards broken off. Mr Home, who was a mere novice in physics, contended with Mr Baxter that motion was necessarily the result of a succession of causes. The latter endeavoured, at first with much patience and good temper, to point out the error of this argument; but, teased at length with what he conceived to be sophistry purposely employed by his antagonist to show his ingenuity in throwing doubts on principles to which he himself annexed the greatest importance, and on which he had founded what he believed to be a demonstration of those doctrines most material to the happiness of mankind, he finally interrupted the correspondence, saying, "I shall return you all your letters; mine, if not already destroyed, you may likewise return; we shall burn them and our philosophical heats together." About this time, Mr Baxter married Alice Mabane, daughter of a respectable clergyman in Berwickshire. A few years afterwards he published his great work, entitled, "An Enquiry into the nature of the Human Soul, wherein its immateriality is evinced from the principles of Reason and Philosophy." This work was originally without date; but a second edition appeared in 1737, and a third in 1745. It has been characterised in the highest terms of panegyric by Bishop Warburton. "He who would see," says this eminent prelate, "the justest and precise notions of God and the soul, may read this book; one of the most finished of the kind, in my humble opinion, that the present times, greatly advanced in true philosophy, have produced." The object of the treatise is to prove the immateriality, and consequently the immortality of the soul, from the acknowledged principle of the *vis inertia* of matter. His argument, according to the learned Lord Woodhouselee, is as follows: "There is a resistance to any change of its present state, either of rest or motion, essential to matter, which is inconsistent with its possessing any active power. Those, there-

fore, which have been called the natural powers of matter, as gravity, attraction, elasticity, repulsion, are not powers implanted in matter, or possible to be made inherent in it, but are impulses or forces impressed upon it *ab extra*. The consequence of the want of active power in matter is, that all those effects commonly ascribed to its active powers, must be produced upon it by an immaterial being. Hence we discover the necessity for the agency of a constant and universal Providence in the material world, who is God; and hence we must admit the necessity of an immaterial mover in all spontaneous motions, which is the *Soul*; for that which can arbitrarily effect a change in the present state of matter, cannot be matter itself, which resists all change of its present state: and since this change is effected by willing, that thing which wills in us is not matter, but an immaterial substance. From these fundamental propositions, the author deduces as consequences, the necessary immortality of the soul, as being a simple uncompounded substance, and thence incapable of decay, and its capacity of existing, and being conscious when separated from the body." In 1741, leaving his family in Berwick, he went abroad with his pupil Mr Hay, and resided for several years at Utrecht. In the course of various excursions which he made through Holland, France, and Germany, he was generally well received by the literati. He returned to Scotland in 1747, and, till his death in 1750, resided constantly at Whittingham in East Lothian, a seat of his pupil Mr Hay. His latter works were, "Matho, sive Cosmotheoria puerilis, Dialogus," a piece designed for the use of his pupil, and, "An Appendix to his Enquiry into the nature of the human soul," wherein he endeavoured to remove some difficulties, which had been started against his notions of the *vis inertiae* of matter by Maclaurin, in his "Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries." In 1779, the Rev. Dr Duncan of South Warnborough published, "The evidence of reason in proof of the Immortality of the Soul, independent on the more abstruse enquiry into the nature of matter and spirit—collected from the MSS. of the late Mr Baxter."

The learning and abilities of Mr Baxter are sufficiently displayed in his writings, which, however, were of more note in the literary world during his own time than now. He was very studious, and sometimes sat up whole nights reading and writing. His temper was cheerful; he was a friend to innocent merriment, and of a disposition truly benevolent. In conversation he was modest, and not apt to make much show of the extensive knowledge he possessed. In the discharge of the several social and relative duties of life, his conduct was exemplary. He had the most reverential sentiments of the Deity, of whose presence and immediate support, he had always a strong impression upon his mind. He paid a strict attention to economy, though he dressed elegantly, and was not parsimonious in his other expenses. It is known also that there were several occasions on which he acted with remarkable disinterestedness; and so far was he from courting preferment, that he repeatedly declined offers of that kind that were made to him, on the condition of his taking orders in the Church of England. The French, German, and Dutch languages were spoken by him with much ease, and the Italian tolerably; and he read and wrote them all, together with the Spanish. His friends and correspondents were numerous and respectable; among them are particularly mentioned, Mr Pointz, preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, and Bishop Warburton. While travelling on the Continent, he had formed an intimate friendship with the celebrated John Wilkes; and he accordingly dedicated to this gentleman his Appendix to the Enquiry. After the death of Mr Baxter, Mr Wilkes published a remarkably interesting letter, the last but one which he had received from his friend, exhibiting in a very striking manner the deep impression which the excellent principles of Mr

Baxter had made upon his own mind, and which were only the more deeply and confidently cherished as life approached its close. "As to the state of my disease," says the dying philosopher, "unless I would make suppositions contrary to all probability, I have no reasonable hopes of recovery, the swelling which began at my legs, being now got up to my belly and head. I am a trouble to all about me, especially to my poor wife, who has the life of a slave night and day, helping me to take care of my diseased frame. Yet I may linger on a while, as I can still walk a little through the room, and divert myself now and then with reading, nay, in writing down my remarks on what I read. But I can with sincerity assure you, my most dear Mr Wilkes, death has nothing terrible to me; or rather I look upon it with pleasure. I have long and often considered and written down the advantages of a separate state. I shall soon know more than all the men I leave behind me; wonders in material nature and the world of spirits, which never entered into the thoughts of philosophers. The end of knowledge then, is not to get a name, or form a new sect, but to adore the power and wisdom of the Deity. This kills pride, but heightens happiness and pleasure. All our rational desires, because rational, must be satisfied by a being, himself infinitely rational. I have been long aware that nothing can go beyond the grave, but habits of virtue and innocence. There is no distinction in that world, but what proceeds from virtue or vice. Titles and riches are laid off when the shroud goes on." [Mr Baxter then goes on to express his conviction that even the punishments which may be awarded in a future state will only be "to correct and make better."] "Besides, what is it to be free from the pains and infirmities of the body—though I am satisfied just now, that the weakness of my distressed limbs is as much the immediate effect of the same power and goodness, as their growth and strength was sixty years ago! Dare I add a word without being thought vain? This is owing to my having reasoned honestly on the nature of that dead substance, *matter*. It is as utterly inert when the tree flourishes, as when the leaf withers. And it is the same divine power, differently applied, that directs the last parting throb, and the first drawing breath. O the blindness of those who think *matter* can do any thing of itself, or perform an effect without impulse or direction from superior power!"

BAYNE, [OR BAINE] JAMES, A. M. a divine of some note, was the son of the Rev. Mr Bayne, minister of Bonhill in Dumbartonshire, and was born in 1710. His education commenced at the parish school, was completed at the university of Glasgow, and in due time he became a licensed preacher of the established church of Scotland. In consequence of the respectability of his father, and his own talents as a preacher, he was presented by the Duke of Montrose to the church of Killearn, the parish adjoining that in which his father had long ministered the gospel, and memorable as the birth-place of Buchanan. In this sequestered and tranquil scene, he spent many years, which he often referred to in after life as the happiest he had ever known. He here married Miss Potter, daughter of Dr Michael Potter, professor of divinity in the Glasgow university, by whom he had a large family. His son, the Rev. James Bayne, was licensed in the Scottish establishment, but afterwards received episcopal ordination, and died in the exercise of that profession of faith at Alloa.

The reputation of Mr Bayne as a preacher soon travelled far beyond the rural scene to which his ministrations were confined. His people, in allusion to the musical sweetness of his voice, honoured him with the poetical epithet of "the swan of the west." He was appointed to a collegiate charge in the High Church of Paisley, where his partner in duty was the celebrated Mr Wotherspoon, afterwards president of the Nassau Hall College, Princetown, New Jersey. The two colleagues, however,

did not co-operate harmoniously, although both enjoyed a high degree of popularity. Mr Bayne displayed great public spirit during his connection with the Established church, defending her spiritual liberties and independence in the church courts, and offering a determined opposition to the policy of the moderate or ruling party. The deposition of Mr Thomas Gillespie, of Carnock, the founder of the Relief church, made a powerful impression on his mind, and undoubtedly had a strong influence in inducing him to resign his pastoral charge in Paisley. But the immediate cause of that resolution was a keen dispute which took place in the kirk-session of his parish, respecting the appointment of a session-clerk. The session contested the right of appointment with the town-council; the whole community took an interest in the dispute; and the case came at last to be litigated in the Court of Session, which decided in favour of the town-council. Unhappily, Mr Bayne and his colleague took opposite sides in this petty contest, and a painful misunderstanding was produced betwixt them, followed by consequences probably affecting the future destinies of both. Mr Bayne refers to these differences in his letter of resignation, addressed to the Presbytery, dated 10th February, 1766 :—" They (the Presbytery) know not how far I am advanced in life, who see not that a house of worship, so very large as the High Church, and commonly so crowded too, must be very unequal to my strength; and this burden was made more heavy by denying me a session to assist me in the common concerns of the parish, which I certainly had a title to. But the load became quite intolerable, when, by a late unhappy process, the just and natural right of the common session was wrested from us, which drove away from acting in it twelve men of excellent character." Mr Bayne joined the Relief church, then in its infancy, having, even whilst in the Establishment, held ministerial communion with Mr Simpson, minister of Bellshill congregation, the first Relief church in the west of Scotland. In his letter of resignation, already quoted, Mr Bayne assured his former brethren that the change of his condition, and the charge he had accepted, would make no change in his creed, nor in his principles of Christian and ministerial communion—" Nay (he adds), none in my cordial regard to the constitution and interests of the Church of Scotland, which I solemnly engaged to support some more than thirty years ago, and hope to do so while I live. At the same time I abhor persecution in every form, and that abuse of church power of late, which to me appears inconsistent with humanity, with the civil interests of the nation, and destructive of the ends of our office as ministers of Christ." On the 24th December, Mr Bayne accepted a call to become minister of the College Street Relief Church, Edinburgh, and his induction took place on the 13th February, 1766, three days after his resignation of his charge in Paisley. As his demission fell to be adjudicated upon by the General Assembly, in May of that year, his name remained for the present upon the roll of the Establishment, and so little did he yet consider himself separated from the communion of that church, that when the half-yearly sacrament of the Lord's Supper came round in Edinburgh, soon after his settlement, after preaching in his own church in the forenoon, he went over in the afternoon, at the head of his congregation, to the New Greyfriars' church, and joined in the ordinance with the congregation of the Rev. Dr Erskine. At the Assembly in May, Mr Bayne, in obedience to a citation, appeared at the bar, and was declared to be no longer a minister of the Church of Scotland, and all clergymen of that body were prohibited from holding ministerial communion with him. Mr Bayne defended the course he had taken in a review of the proceedings of the Assembly, entitled, "Memoirs of Modern Church Reformation, or the History of the General Assembly, 1766, and occasional reflections upon the proceedings of said Assembly; with a brief account and vindication of the Presbytery of Relief, by James Bayne, A.M., minister of the gospel at Edinburgh." He denounces, with indignant severity, the injustice of his having been condemned by

the Assembly without a libel, merely for having accepted a charge in another church, "in which (says he), I presumed, they could find nothing criminal; for often had ministers resigned their charge upon different accounts, and justifiable; nay, some have given it up for the more entertaining and elegant employ of the stage, who were not called in question or found delinquents. This was a palpable hit at Home, the author of "*Douglas*," who sat in the Assembly as a ruling elder, to aid Dr Robertson in punishing Bayne. After a ministry of 60 years, Mr Bayne died at Edinburgh, on the 17th January, 1790, in his eightieth year. He was 24 years minister of the College Street Relief congregation, Edinburgh. His popularity as a preacher, his talents for ecclesiastical affairs, his acquirements as a scholar and a theologian, and his sound judgment and weight of character, gave him great influence; and it was mainly to his large and enlightened views that the Relief church was indebted for the position to which it attained, even during his lifetime, as well as for retaining, till it was finally merged in the United Presbyterian church, the catholic constitution on which it had been founded by Gillespie and Boston. Mr Bayne was an uncompromising opponent of whatever he considered to be a violation of public morality. In 1770 he published a discourse, entitled, "*The Theatre Licentious and Perverted*," administering a stern rebuke to Mr Samuel Foote for his *Minor*; a drama, in which the characters of Whitefield, and other zealous ministers were held up to profane ridicule. The dramatist considered it necessary to reply to Mr Bayne's strictures, in an "*Apology for the Minor*," in a letter to the Rev. Mr Bayne," resting his defence upon the plea that he only satirized the vices and follies of religious pretenders. A volume of Mr Bayne's discourses was published in 1778.

BEATON, or BEATOUN (CARDINAL) DAVID, who held the rectory of Campsie, the abbacy of Aberbrothick, the bishopric of Mirepoix in France, the cardinalship of St Stephen in Monte Cœlio, and the chancellorship of Scotland, and who was the chief of the Roman Catholic party in Scotland in the earlier age of the reformation. was descended from an ancient family in Fife, possessed of the barony of Balfour, and was born in the year 1494. He was educated at the college of St Andrews, where he completed his courses of polite literature and philosophy, but was sent afterwards to the university of Paris, where he studied divinity for several years. Entering into holy orders, he had the rectory of Campsie and the abbacy of Aberbrothick bestowed upon him, by his uncle, James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrew's, who retained one-half of the rents of the abbacy to his own use. Possessing good abilities and a lively fancy, David Beaton became a great favourite with James V., who, in 1519, sent him to reside as his ambassador at the court of France. He returned to Scotland in 1525, and, still growing in the King's favour, was, in 1528, made lord privy seal.

In the year 1533, he was again sent on a mission to the French court. Beaton on this occasion was charged to refute certain calumnies which it was supposed the English had circulated against his countrymen, to study the preservation of the ancient league between the two nations, and to conclude a treaty of marriage between James and Magdalene, the daughter of Francis I. If unsuccessful in any of these points, he was furnished with letters which he was to deliver to the parliament at Paris, and depart immediately for Flanders, for the purpose of forming an alliance with the emperor. In every part of his embassy, Beaton seems to have succeeded to the utmost extent of his wishes, the marriage excepted, which was delayed on account of the declining state of health in which Magdalene then was. How long Beaton remained at the French court at this time has not been ascertained; but it is certain that he was exceedingly agreeable to Francis, who, perceiving his great abilities, and aware of the influence he possessed over the mind

of the Scottish King, used every expedient to attach him to the interests of France, being afraid of the predilection of James towards his uncle, Henry VIII., who also, he was aware, was strengthening, by all the influence he possessed, his interest at the Scottish court.

In 1536, finding a second embassy also unsuccessful, king James set sail for France, and proceeded to the court, where he was most cordially welcomed; and, unable to deny his suit, especially as it was exceedingly agreeable to Magdalene herself, Francis consented to their union, which was celebrated with great rejoicings on the 1st of January, 1537. On the 28th of May following, the royal pair landed in Scotland, being conveyed by a French fleet. Magdalene was received by the Scottish nation with the utmost cordiality; but she was already far gone in a decline, and died on the 7th of July following, to the inexpressible grief of the whole nation. It was on the death of this queen that mournings were first worn in Scotland. James, however, in expectation of this event, had fixed his attention upon Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville; and Beaton, who by this time had returned to Scotland, was dispatched immediately to bring her over. On this occasion he was appointed by the king of France bishop of Mirepoix, to which see he was consecrated, December 5th, 1537. The following year, he was, at the recommendation of the French king, elevated to the cardinalship by the Pope, which was followed by a grant on the part of the French king for services already done and for those which he might afterwards do to his majesty, allowing his heirs to succeed him to his estate in France, though the said heirs should be born and live within the kingdom of Scotland, and though they should have no particular letter or act of naturalization in that country. Notwithstanding of the obligations he was thus laid under by the king of France, he returned to Scotland with Mary of Guise, and shortly after obtained the entire management of the diocese and primacy of St Andrews, under his uncle James Beaton, whom he eventually succeeded in that office.

A severe persecution was commenced at this time by the cardinal against all who were suspected of favouring the reformed doctrines. Many were forced to recant, and two persons, Norman Gourlay and David Straiton, were burnt at the Rood of Greenside, near Edinburgh. The pope, as a further mark of his respect, and to quicken his zeal, declared Beaton *Legatus a latere*; and he, to manifest his gratitude, brought to St Andrews the earls of Huntley, Arran, Marischal, and Montrose, the lords of Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seaton, Gavin archbishop of Glasgow (chancellor), William bishop of Aberdeen, Henry bishop of Galloway, John bishop of Brechin, and William bishop of Dumblane, the abbots of Melrose, Dunfermline, Lindores, and Kinloss, with a multitude of priors, deans, doctors of divinity, &c., all of whom being assembled in the cathedral church, he harangued them from his chair of state on the dangers that hung over the true catholic church from the proceedings of king Henry in England, and particularly from the great increase of heresy in Scotland, where it had long been spreading, and found encouragement even in the court of the king. As he proceeded, he denounced Sir John Borthwick, provost of Linlithgow, as one of the most industrious incendiaries, and caused him to be cited before them for maintaining that the Pope had no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop or prelate—that indulgences granted by the pope were of no force or effect, but devised to amuse the people and deceive poor ignorant souls—that bishops, priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry—that the heresies commonly called the heresies of England and their new liturgy were to be commended by all good Christians, and to be embraced by them—that the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and profess not the true faith—that churchmen

ought not to enjoy any temporalities—that the king ought to convert the superfluous revenues of the church unto other pious uses—that the church of Scotland ought to be reformed after the same manner as that of England was—that the Canon law was of no force, being contrary to the law of God—that the orders of friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England—that he had openly called the pope a Simoniac, because he had sold spiritual things—that he had read heretical books and the New Testament in English, with treatises written by Melancthon, Ecolanpadius, and other heretics, and that he not only read them himself but distributed them among others—and lastly, that he openly disowned the authority of the Roman see. These articles being read, and Sir John neither appearing himself nor any person for him, he was set down as a confessed heretic, and condemned as an heresiarch. His goods were ordered to be confiscated and himself burnt in effigy, if he could not be apprehended, and all manner of persons forbidden to entertain or converse with him, under the pain of excommunication or forfeiture. This sentence was passed against him on the 28th of May, and executed the same day so far as was in the power of the court, his effigy being burnt in the market place of St Andrews and two days after at Edinburgh. This was supposed by many to be intended as a gratifying spectacle to Mary of Guise, the new queen, who had only a short time before arrived from France.

Sir John Borthwick, in the meantime, being informed of these violent proceedings, fled into England, where he was received with open arms by Henry VIII., by whom he was sent on an embassy to the protestant princes of Germany, for the purpose of forming with them a defensive league against the pope. Johnston, in his *Heroes of Scotland*, says, that "John Borthwick, a noble knight, was as much esteemed by king James V. for his exemplary and amiable qualities, as he was detested by the order of the priesthood on account of his true piety, for his unfeigned profession of which he was condemned; and though absent, his effects confiscated, and his effigy, after being subjected to various marks of ignominy, burnt," as we have above related. "This condemnation," Johnston adds, "he answered by a most learned apology, which may yet be seen in the records of the martyrs, [Fox,] and having survived many years, at last died in peace in a good old age."

While these affairs were transacted, Henry, anxious to destroy that interest which the French government had so long maintained in Scotland to the prejudice of England, sent into that kingdom the bishop of St Davids with some books written in the vulgar tongue upon the doctrines of Christianity, which he recommended to his nephew carefully to peruse, and to weigh well their contents. James, who was more addicted to his amusements, than to the study of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, gave the books to be perused by some of his courtiers, who, being attached to the clerical order, condemned them as heretical, and congratulated the king upon having so fortunately escaped the contamination of his royal eyes by such pestiferous writings. There were, however, other matters proposed to the king by this embassy than the books, though it was attempted by the clerical faction to persuade the people that the books were all that was intended; for, shortly after, the same bishop, accompanied by William Howard, brother of the Duke of Norfolk, came to the king at Stirling so suddenly, that he was not aware of their coming till they were announced as arrived in the town. This no doubt was planned by Henry to prevent the intriguing of the priests and the French faction beforehand. His offers were of a nature so advantageous, that James acceded to them without any scruple, and readily agreed to meet with his uncle Henry on an appointed day, when they were to settle all matters in dependence be-

tween them for the welfare of both kingdoms. Nothing could be more terrible to the clergy, of which Beaton was now confessedly the head in Scotland, than the agreement of the two kings; they saw in it nothing short of the loss of all that was dear to them, their altars, their revenues, and of course their influence, and they hastened to court from all quarters to weep over their religion about to be betrayed by an unholy conference, which, being impious in its purposes, could not fail, they said, to end in the ruin of the kingdom. Having by these representations made a strong impression upon the king, who was ignorant and superstitious, they then bribed, by the promise of large sums of money, the courtiers who had the most powerful influence over him, to dissuade him from the journey he had promised to make into England, which they successfully did, and so laid the foundation of a quarrel which ended in a war, the disastrous issue of which, preying upon the mind of James, brought him to an untimely end.

In the whole of these transactions, Beaton, a zealous churchman and the hired tool of France, was the chief actor, and knowing that the king was both covetous and needy, he overcame his scruples, by persuading the clergy to promise him a yearly subsidy of thirty thousand gold crowns, and even their whole fortunes, if this should be thought necessary. As he had no design, however, to be at any unnecessary expense himself, nor meant to be burdensome to his brethren, he pointed out the estates of those who rebelled against the authority of the Pope and the majesty of the king as proper subjects for confiscation, whereby there might be raised annually the sum of one hundred thousand crowns of gold. In order to attain this object, he requested that, for himself and his brethren, they might only be allowed to name, as they were precluded themselves from sitting in judgment in criminal cases, a lord chief justice, before whom, were he once appointed, there could be neither difficulty in managing the process, nor delay in procuring judgment, since so many men hesitated not to read the books of the New and Old Testaments, to discuss and disown the power of the Pope, to condemn the ancient rites of the church, and, instead of reverencing and obeying, dared to treat with derisive contempt those individuals that had been consecrated to God, and whose business it was to guide them in their spiritual concerns. This wicked counsel, as it suited both the inclinations and the necessities of the king, was quickly complied with, and they nominated for this new court of inquisition a judge every way according to their own hearts, James Hamilton, (a natural brother of the Earl of Arran,) whom they had attached to their interests by large gifts, and who was willing to be reconciled to the king, whom he had lately offended, by any service, however cruel.

The suspicions which the king entertained against his nobility from this time forward were such as to paralyze his efforts whether for good or evil. The inroads of the English, too, occupied his whole attention, and the shameful overthrow of his army which had entered England by the Solway, threw him into such a state of rage and distraction, that his health sunk under it, and he died at Falkland on the 13th of December, 1542, leaving the kingdom, torn by faction, and utterly defenceless, to his only surviving legitimate child, Mary, then no more than five days old. The sudden demise of the king, while it quashed the old projects of the Cardinal, only set him upon forming new ones still more daring and dangerous. Formerly he had laboured to direct the movements of the king by humouring his passions, flattering his vanity, and administering to his vicious propensities. Now, from the infancy of the successor, the death, the captivity, or the exile of the most influential part of the nobility, and the distracted state of the nation in general, he conceived that it would be easy for him to seize upon the government, which he might now administer for the infant queen, solely to his own mind. Accordingly, with the

assistance of one Henry Balfour, a mercenary priest, whom he suborned, he is said to have forged a will for the king, in which he was himself nominated agent, with three of the nobility as his assessors or assistants. According to Knox, these were Argyle, Huntley, and Murray; but Buchanan, whom we think a very sufficient authority in this case, says that he also assumed as an assessor his cousin by the mother's side, the Earl of Arran, who was, after Mary, the next heir to the crown, but was believed to be poorly qualified by the humbler virtues for discharging the duties of a private life, and still less fitted either by courage or capacity for directing the government of a kingdom. Aware of the danger that might arise from delay, the cardinal lost not a moment in idle deliberation. The will which he had forged he caused to be proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh on the Monday immediately succeeding the king's death.

Arran, the unambitious presumptive heir to the throne, would, had he been left to himself, have peaceably acquiesced in the cardinal's arrangements, for he had the approbation of the queen mother, and, by presents and promises, had made no inconsiderable party among the nobility. But his friends, the Hamiltons, says Buchanan, more anxious for their own aggrandisement than for his honour, incessantly urged him not to let such an occasion slip out of his hands, for they would rather have seen the whole kingdom in flames than have been obliged to lead obscure lives in private stations. Hatred, too, to the Cardinal, who, from his persecuting and selfish spirit, was very generally detested, and the disgrace of living in bondage to a priest, procured them many associates. The near prospect which Arran now had of succeeding to the crown, must also have enlisted a number of the more wary and calculating politicians upon his side. But what was of still more consequence to him, Henry of England who had carried all the principal prisoners taken in the late battle to London, marched them in triumph through that metropolis, and given them in charge to his principal nobility, no sooner heard of the death of the king than he recalled the captives to court, entertained them in the most friendly manner, and having taken a promise from each of them that they would promote as far as possible, without detriment to the public interests, or disgrace to themselves, a marriage between his son and the young queen, he sent them back to Scotland, where they arrived on the 1st of January, 1543. Along with the prisoners the Earl of Angus and his brother were restored to their country, after an exile of fifteen years, and all were received by the nation with the most joyful gratulations.

It was in vain that the Cardinal had already taken possession of the regency. Arran, by the advice of the Laird of Grange, called an assembly of the nobility, which finding the will upon which the Cardinal had assumed the regency forged, set him aside and elected Arran in his place. This was peculiarly grateful to a great proportion of the nobles, three hundred of whom, with Arran at their head, were found in a proscription list among the king's papers, furnished to him by the Cardinal. Arran, it was well known, was friendly to the reformers, and his imbecility of mind being unknown, the greatest expectations were formed from the moderation of his character. In the parliament that met in the month of March following, public affairs put on a much more promising appearance than could have been expected. The king of England, instead of an army to waste or to subjugate the country, sent an ambassador to negotiate a marriage between the young queen and his son, and a lasting peace upon the most advantageous terms. The Cardinal, who saw in this alliance with protestant England the downfall of his church in Scotland, opposed himself, with the whole weight of the clergy at his back, and all the influence of the Queen-dowager, to every thing like pacific measures, and that with so

much violence, that he was by the general consent of the house shut up in a separate chamber, while the votes were taken; after which every thing was settled in the most amicable manner, and it was agreed that hostages should be sent into England for the fulfilment of the stipulated articles.

The Cardinal in the meantime was committed as a prisoner into the hands of Lord Seton, who kept him first in Dalkeith, afterwards in Seton, and by and bye, something being bestowed on Lord Seton and the old Laird of Lethington, by way of compensation, he was suffered to resume his own castle at St Andrews. In the great confusion and uncertainty in public affairs that had prevailed for a number of years, trade had been at an entire stand, and now that a lasting peace seemed to be established, the merchants began to bestir themselves in all quarters, and a number of vessels were sent to sea laden with the most valuable merchandise. Edinburgh itself fitted out twelve, and the other towns on the eastern coast in proportion to their wealth, all of them coasting the English shores, and entering their harbours with the most undoubting confidence. Restored, however, to liberty, the Cardinal, enraged at the opposition he had encountered, and writhing under the disgrace of detected fraud, strained every nerve to break up the arrangements that had been so happily concluded. Seconded by the Queen-dowager, who, like him, hated the Douglasses, and trembled for the established religion, any change in which would necessarily involve a rupture of the ancient treaty with France, he convoked, at St Andrews, soon after his return to that place, an assembly of the clergy, to determine upon a certain sum of money to be given by them in case their measures for the preservation of the catholic church should involve the country in a war with England. The whole of the bishops not being present, the meeting was adjourned to the month of June; but the Cardinal had the address to prevail on those that were present to give all their own money, their silver plate, and the plate belonging to their churches, for the maintainance of such a war, besides engaging to enter themselves into the army as volunteers, should such a measure be thought necessary.

Aided by this money, with which he wrought upon the avarice and the poverty of the nobles and excited the clamours of the vulgar, who hated the very name of an English alliance, the Cardinal soon found himself at the head of a formidable party, which treated the English ambassador with the greatest haughtiness, in the hope of forcing him out of the country before the arrival of the day stipulated by the treaty with the regent for the delivery of the hostages. The ambassador, however, braved every insult till the day arrived, when he waited on the regent, and complained in strong terms of the manner in which he had been used, and the affronts that had been put, not upon himself only, but upon his master, in contempt of the law of nature and of nations, but at the same time demanded the fulfilment of the treaty and the immediate delivery of the hostages that had been agreed upon. With respect to the affronts complained of, the regent apologised, stating them to have been committed without his knowledge, and he promised to make strict enquiry after, and to punish the offenders. With regard to the hostages, however, he was obliged to confess, that, through the intrigues of the Cardinal, it was impossible for him to furnish them. The treaty being thus broken off, the noblemen who had been captives only a few months before, ought, according to agreement, to have gone back into England, having left hostages to that effect. Wrought upon, however, by the Cardinal and the clergy, they refused to redeem the faith they had pledged, and abandoned the friends they had left behind them to their fate. The only exception to this baseness was the Earl of Cassilis, who had left two brothers as hostages. Henry was so much pleased with this solitary instance of good faith, that he set him free along with his brothers, and sent him home loaded with gifts. He at the

same time seized upon all the Scottish vessels, a great number of which had been lately fitted out, as we have stated, and were at this time in the English harbours and road-steads, confiscated the merchandise, and made the merchants and the mariners prisoners of war. This, while it added to the domestic miseries of Scotland, served also to fan the flames of dissension, which burned more fiercely than ever. The faction of the Cardinal and the Queen-dowager, entirely devoted to France, now sent ambassadors thither to state their case as utterly desperate, unless they were supported from that country. In particular, they requested that Matthew Earl of Lennox might be ordered home, in order that they might set him up as a rival to the Hamiltons, who were already the objects of his hatred, on account of their having waylaid and killed his father at Linlithgow.

Arran laboured to strengthen his party in the best manner he could; and for this end resolved to possess himself of the infant Queen, who had hitherto remained at Linlithgow in the charge of her mother the Queen-dowager. The Cardinal, however, was too wary to be thus circumvented, and assembling his faction, took possession of Linlithgow, where he lived at free quarters upon the inhabitants, on pretence of being a guard to the Queen. Lennox, in the meantime, arrived from France, and was received by the regent with great kindness, each of them dissembling the hatred he bore to the other, and having informed his friends of the expectations he had been led to form he proceeded to join the Queen at Linlithgow, accompanied by upwards of four thousand men. Arran, who had assembled all his friends in and about Edinburgh for the purpose of breaking through to the Queen, now found himself completely in the back ground, having, by the imbecility of his character, entirely lost the confidence of the people, and being threatened with a law-suit by the friends of Lennox to deprive him of his estates, his father having married his mother, Janet Beaton, an aunt of the Cardinal, while his first wife, whom he had divorced, was still alive. He now thought of nothing but making his peace with the Cardinal. To this the Cardinal was not at all averse, as he wished to make Arran his tool rather than to crush him entirely. Delegates of course were appointed by both parties, who met at Kirkliston, a village about midway between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, and agreed that the Queen should be carried to Stirling; the Earl of Montrose, with the Lords Erskine, Lindsay, and Livingstone, being nominated to take the superintendence of her education. Having been put in possession of the infant Queen, these noblemen proceeded with her direct to Stirling Castle, where she was solemnly inaugurated with the usual ceremonies on the 9th of Sept. 1543. The feeble regent soon followed, and before the Queen-mother and the principal nobility in the church of the Franciscans at Stirling, solemnly abjured the protestant doctrines, by the profession of which alone he had obtained the favour of so large a portion of the nation, and for the protection of which he had been especially called to the regency. In this manner the Cardinal, through the cowardice of the regent, and the avarice of his friends, obtained all that he intended by the forged will, and enjoyed all the advantages of ruling, while all the odium that attended it attached to the imbecile Arran, who was now as much hated and despised by his own party as he had formerly been venerated by them. There was yet, however, one thing wanting to establish the power of the Cardinal—the dismissal of Lennox, who, though he had been greatly useful to them in humbling Arran, was now a serious obstacle in the way of both the Cardinal and the Queen-mother. They accordingly wrote to the king of France, entreating that, as Scotland had been restored to tranquillity by his liberality and assistance, he would secure his own good work and preserve the peace which he had procured, by recalling Lennox, without which it was impossible it could be lasting.

Though they were thus secretly labouring to undermine this nobleman, the Queen-mother and the Cardinal seemed to study nothing so much as how they might put honour upon him before the people, and in the most effective manner contribute to his comfort. By a constant succession of games and festivals, the court presented one unbroken scene of gaiety and pleasure. Day after day was spent in tournaments, and night after night in masquerades. In these festivities, of which he was naturally fond, Lennox found a keen rival in James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who had been banished by James V., but had returned after his decease, and was now labouring to obtain the Queen-dowager in marriage by the same arts that Lennox fancied himself to be so successfully employing. Both these noblemen were remarkable for natural endowments, and in the gifts of fortune they were nearly upon a level. Finding himself inferior, however, in the sportive strife of arms, Bothwell withdrew from the court in chagrin, leaving the field to his rival undisputed. Lennox, now fancying that he had nothing more to do than to reap the harvest of fair promises that had been so liberally held forth to him, pressed his suit upon the Queen, but learned with astonishment that she had no intention of taking him for a husband, and so far from granting him the regency, she had agreed with the Cardinal to preserve it in the possession of his mortal enemy Arran, whom they expected to be a more pliant tool to serve their own personal views and purposes. Exasperated to the highest degree, Lennox swore to be amply revenged, but uncertain as yet what plan to pursue, departed for Dunbarton, where he was in the midst of his vassals and friends. Here he received thirty thousand crowns, sent to increase the strength of his party by the king of France, who had not yet been informed of the real state of Scotland. Being ordered to consult with the Queen-dowager and the Cardinal in the distribution of this money, Lennox divided part of it among his friends, and part he sent to the Queen. The Cardinal, who had expected to have been intrusted with the greatest share of the money, under the influence of rage and disappointment, persuaded the vacillating regent to raise an army and march to Glasgow, where he might seize upon Lennox and the money at the same time. Lennox, however, warned of their intentions, raised on the instant among his vassals and friends upwards of ten thousand men, with which he marched to Leith, and sent a message to the Cardinal at Edinburgh, that he desired to save him the trouble of coming to fight him at Glasgow, and would give him that pleasure any day in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith.

This was a new and unexpected mortification to the Cardinal, who, having gained the regent, imagined he should have gained the whole party that adhered to him; but the fact was, he had gained only the regent and his immediate dependants, the great body of the people, who had originally given him weight and influence, being now so thoroughly disgusted with his conduct, that they had joined the standard, and now swelled the ranks of his rival. The Cardinal, however, though professing the utmost willingness to accept the challenge, delayed coming to action from day to day under various pretexts, but in reality that he might have time to seduce the adherents of his rival, and weary out the patience of his followers, who, without pay and without magazines, he was well aware could not be kept for any length of time together. Lennox, finding the war thus protracted, and himself so completely unfurnished for undertaking a siege, at the urgent entreaty of his friends, who for the most part had provided secretly for themselves, made an agreement with the regent, and, proceeding to Edinburgh, the two visited backwards and forwards, as if all their ancient animosity had been forgotten. Lennox, however, being advised of treachery, withdrew in the night secretly to Glasgow, where he fortified, provisioned, and garrisoned the Bishop's castle, but retired himself to Dunbarton. Here he learned

that the Douglasses had agreed with the Hamiltons, and that, through the influence of his enemies, the French king was totally estranged from him. Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, and Robert Maxwell, in the meantime, came to Glasgow with the view of mediating between Lennox and the Regent. The Regent, however, seized them both in a clandestine manner by the way, and made them close prisoners in the castle of Cadzow. While the two factions were thus harassing one another to the ruin of their common country, Henry was demanding by letters satisfaction for the breach of treaties and the insults that had been heaped upon him in the person of his late ambassador. No notice being taken of these letters, Henry ordered a large armament, which he had prepared to send against the coast of France, to proceed directly to Leith, and to visit Edinburgh and the adjacent country with all the miseries of war; and with so much secrecy and celerity did this armament proceed, that the first tidings heard of it in Scotland was its appearance in Leith roads. Ten thousand men were disembarked on the 4th May, 1544, a little above Leith, who took possession of that place without the smallest opposition, the inhabitants being mostly abroad in the prosecution of their business. The Regent and the Cardinal were both at the time in Edinburgh, and, panic-stricken at the appearance of the enemy, and still more at the hatred of the citizens, fled with the utmost precipitation towards Stirling. The English, in the meantime, having landed their baggage and artillery, marched in order of battle towards Edinburgh, which they sacked and set on fire; then dispersing themselves over the neighbouring country, they burnt towns, villages, and gentlemen's seats to the ground, and returning by Edinburgh to Leith, embarked aboard their ships and set sail with a fair wind, carrying with them an immense booty, and with the loss on their part of only a few individuals.

The Cardinal and his puppet the Regent, in the meantime, raised a small body of forces in the north, with which, finding the English gone, they marched against Lennox in the west, and laid siege to the castle of Glasgow, which they battered with brass cannon for a number of days. A truce was at last concluded for one day, during which the garrison were tampered with, and, on a promise of safety, surrendered. They were, however, put to death, with the exception of one or two individuals. Lennox, now totally deserted by the French, and unable to cope with the Cardinal, had no resource but to fly into England, where, through the medium of his friends, he had been assured of a cordial reception. Before leaving the country, however, he was determined to inflict signal vengeance upon the Hamiltons. Having communicated with William Earl of Glencairn upon the subject, a day was appointed on which they should assemble with their vassals at Glasgow, whence they might make an irruption into the territory of the Hamiltons, which lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The Regent, informed of this design, with the advice of the Cardinal, resolved to pre-occupy Glasgow. Glencairn, however, did not wait the appointed day, but was already in the town, and learning the approach of the Hamiltons marched out to give them battle, aided by the citizens, who do not appear to have been friendly to the Regent. The battle was stoutly contested, and for some time the Hamiltons seemed to have the worst of it. In the end, however, they gained a complete victory, the greater part of the Cuninghames being slain, and among the rest two of the Earl's sons. Nor was it a bloodless victory to the Hamiltons, several of their chieftains being slain; but the severest loss fell upon the citizens of Glasgow, whose houses were cruelly plundered, and even their doors and window shutters destroyed. The friends of Lennox refused to risk another engagement, but they insisted that he should keep the impregnable fortress of Dumbarton, where he might in safety await another revolution in the state of parties, which they prognosticated would take place in a very short time. Nothing, however, could di-

vert him from his purpose; and, committing the charge of the castle of Dumbarton to George Stirling, he sailed for England, where he was honourably entertained by king Henry, who settled a pension upon him, and gave him to wife his niece, Margaret Douglas, a princess in the flower of her age, and celebrated for every accomplishment becoming the female character. The Queen-dowager, aware that the faction Lennox had thus left without a leader could not be brought to submit to Arran, whose levity and imbecility of character they were now perfectly acquainted with, nor to the Cardinal, whose cruelty they both hated and feared, and dreading they might break out into some more desperate insurrection, condescended to soothe them and to take them under her particular protection. Arran was delighted to be delivered from such a formidable rival upon any terms; and in the next parliament, which met at Linlithgow, he succeeded in causing Lennox to be declared a traitor, and in having his estates and those of his friends confiscated, by which he realized considerable sums of money.

The English, during these domestic broils, made a furious inroad into Scotland, burned Jedburgh and Kelso, and laid waste the whole circumjacent country. Thence proceeding to Coldingham, they fortified the church and the church tower, in which they placed a garrison on retiring to their own country. This garrison, from the love of plunder as well as to prevent supplies for a besieging army, wasted the neighbouring district to a wide extent. Turning their attention at last to general interests, the Scottish government, at the head of which was the Cardinal, the Queen-dowager, and the nominal Regent Arran, issued a proclamation for the nobles and the more respectable of the commons to assemble armed, and with provisions for eight days, to attend the Regent. Eight thousand men were speedily assembled, and though it was the depth of winter, they proceeded against the church and tower of Coldingham without delay. When they had been before the place only one day and one night, the Regent, informed that the English were advancing from Berwick, took horse, and with a few attendants galloped in the utmost haste to Dunbar. This inexplicable conduct threw the whole army into confusion, and, but for the bravery of one man, Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, the whole of their tents, baggage, and artillery would have been abandoned to the enemy. But although Angus and a few of his friends, at the imminent hazard of their lives, saved the artillery and brought it in safety to Dunbar, the conduct of the army in general, and of the Regent in particular, was pusillanimous in the extreme. The spirit of the nation sunk and the courage of the enemy rose in proportion. Ralph Ivers, and Brian Latoun, the English commanders, overran, without meeting with any opposition, the districts of Merse, Teviotdale, and Lauderdale, and the Forth only seemed to limit their victorious arms. Angus, who alone of all the Scottish nobility at this time gave any indication of public spirit, indignant at the nation's disgrace and deeply affected with his own losses, for he had extensive estates both in Merse and Teviotdale, made a vehement representation to the Regent upon the folly of his conduct in allowing himself to be the dupe of an ambitious but cowardly priest, who, like the rest of his brethren, unwarlike abroad, was seditious at home, and, exempt from danger, wished only the power of wasting the fruit of other men's labours upon his own voluptuousness. Always feeble and always vacillating, the Regent was roused by these remonstrances to a momentary exertion. An order was issued through the neighbouring counties for all the nobles to attend him, wherever he should be, without loss of time, and in company with Angus, he set out the very next day for the borders, their whole retinue not exceeding three hundred horse. Arrived at Melrose, they determined to wait for their reinforcements, having yet been joined only by a few individuals from the Merse. The English, who were at Jedburgh, to the number of five thousand men, having by their

scouts ascertained the situation and small number of their forces, marched on the instant to surprise them, before their expected supplies should come up. The Scots, however, apprized of their intentions, withdrew to the neighbouring hills, whence, in perfect security, they watched the movements of their enemies, who, disappointed in not finding them, wandered about during the night in quest of such spoils as a lately ravaged town could supply, and with the returning dawn marched back to Jedburgh. The Scots now joined by Norman Lealy, a youth of great promise, son to the Earl of Rothes, and three hundred men from Fife, withdrew to the hills which overlook the village of Ancrum, where they were joined by the Laird of Balcleuch, an active and experienced commander, with a few of his vassals, who assured him that the remainder would follow immediately. By the advice of Balcleuch, the troops were dismounted, and the horses under the care of servants sent to an adjoining hill. The army was formed in the hollow in the order of battle. The English, as had been anticipated, seeing the horses going over the hill, supposed the Scots to be in full retreat, and eager to prevent their escape, rushed after them, and ere they were aware, fell upon the Scottish spears. Taken by surprise, the English troops, though they fought with great bravery, were thrown into disorder, and sustained a signal defeat, losing in killed and captured upwards of thirteen hundred men. The loss on the part of the Scots was two men killed and a few wounded.

In consequence of this victory, the Scots were freed from the incursions of the English for the ensuing summer; but it was principally improved by the Regent, with the advice of the Cardinal, for drawing closer the cords of connexion with France. An ambassador was immediately despatched to that country with the tidings—to report in strong terms the treachery of Lennox, and to request reinforcements of men and money. These could not at this time indeed well be spared, as an immediate descent of the English was expected; yet, in the hopes of somewhat distracting the measures of Henry, an auxiliary force of three thousand foot and five hundred horse was ordered, under the command of James Montgomery of Largo, who was also empowered to inquire into the differences between Lennox and the Regent and Cardinal. Montgomery arrived in Scotland on the 3d day of July, 1545, and having exhibited his commission, and explained the purposes of his master, the king of France, to the Scottish council, they were induced to issue an order for an army of the better class, who might be able to support the expenses of a campaign, to assemble on an early day. This order was punctually complied with, and on the day appointed, fifteen thousand Scotsmen assembled at Haddington, who were marched directly to the English border, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Werk castle. From this camp, they carried on their incursions into the neighbouring country for about a day's journey, carrying off every thing that they could lay hold of. Having wasted in the course of ten days the country that lay within their reach, and being destitute of artillery for carrying on sieges, the army disbanded, and every man went to his own home. Montgomery repaired to court, to inquire into the disputes with Lennox; the English, in the meantime, by way of reprisals, wasting the Scottish borders in every quarter. Montgomery, in the beginning of winter, returned home, leaving the Cardinal, though he blamed him as the sole author of the dissensions between Lennox and the Regent, in the full possession of all his authority.

Beaton now supposed himself fully established in the civil as well as the ecclesiastic management of the kingdom, and proceeded on a progress through the different provinces for the purpose of quieting the seditions, which, as he alleged, had arisen in various places, but in reality to repress the protestants, who, notwithstanding his having so artfully identified the cause of the catholic

religion with that of national feeling, had still been rapidly increasing. Carrying his puppet Arran along with him, as also the Earl of Argyle, Lord Justice-General, Lord Borthwick, the Bishops of Orkney and Dunblane, &c. he came to Perth, or, as it was then more commonly called, St Johnston, where several persons were summoned before him for disputing upon the sense of the Scriptures which, among all true catholics, was a crime to be punished by the judge. Four unhappy men, accused of having eaten a goose upon a Friday, were condemned to be hanged, which rigorous sentence was put into execution. A woman, Helen Stark, for having refused to call upon the Virgin for assistance in her labour, was drowned, although again pregnant. A number of the burghesses of the city, convicted or suspected (for in those days they were the same thing) of smaller peccadilloes, were banished from the city. He also deposed the Lord Ruthven from the provostry of the city, for being somewhat attached to the new opinions, and bestowed the office upon the Laird of Kinfauns, a relation to the Lord Gray, who was neither supposed to be averse to the new religion, nor friendly to the Cardinal; but he hoped by this arrangement to lay a foundation for a quarrel between these noblemen, by which at least one of them would be cut off. This act of tyranny, by which the citizens were deprived of their privilege of choosing their own governor, was highly resented by them, as well as by the Lord Ruthven, whose family had held the place so long that they almost considered it to be hereditary in their family. The new provost Kinfauns was urged by the Cardinal and his advisers to seize upon the government of the city by force, but the Lord Ruthven, with the assistance of the citizens, put him to the route, and slew sixty of his followers. That Ruthven was victorious must have been a little mortifying to the Cardinal; but as the victims were enemies of the church, the defeat was the less to be lamented.

From St Johnston the Cardinal proceeded to Dundee, in order to bring to punishment the readers of the New Testament, which about this time began to be taught to them in the original Greek, of which the Scottish priesthood knew so little that they held it forth as a new book written in a new language, invented by Martin Luther, and of such pernicious qualities that, whoever had the misfortune to look into it became infallibly tainted with deadly heresy. Here, however, their proceedings were interrupted by the approach of Lord Patrick Gray and the Earl of Rothes. These noblemen being both friendly to the Reformation, the Cardinal durst not admit them with their followers into a town that was notorious for attachment to that cause above all the cities of the kingdom; he therefore sent the Regent back to Perth, whither he himself also accompanied him. Even in Perth, however, he durst not meet them openly, and the Regent requiring them to enter separately, they complied, and were both committed to prison. Rothes was soon dismissed, but Gray, whom the Cardinal was chiefly afraid of, remained in confinement a considerable time. The Cardinal having gone over as much of Angus as he found convenient at the time, returned to St Andrews, carrying along with him a black friar named John Rogers, who had been preaching the reformed doctrine in Angus. This individual he committed to the sea-tower of St Andrews, where, it is alleged, he caused him to be privately murdered and thrown over the wall, giving out that he had attempted to escape over it, and in the attempt fell and broke his neck. He also brought along with him the Regent Arran, of whom, though he held his son as a hostage, he was not without doubts, especially when he reflected upon the inconsistency of his character, the native fierceness of the nobility, and the number of them that were still unfriendly to his own measures. He therefore entertained him, for twenty days together, with all manner of shows and splendid entertainments, made him many presents, and, promising him many more, set out with him to Edinburgh,

where he convened an assembly of the clergy to devise means for putting a stop to the disorders that were so heavily complained of, and which threatened the total ruin of the church. In this meeting it was proposed to allay the public clamours by taking measures for reforming the open profligacy of the priests, which was the chief source of complaint. Their deliberations, however, were cut short by intelligence that George Wishart, the most eminent preacher of the reformed doctrines of his day, was residing with Cockburn of Ormiston, only about seven miles from Edinburgh. They calculated that, if they could cut off this individual, they should perform an action more serviceable to the cause of the church, and also one of much easier accomplishment, than reforming the lives of the priests. A troop of horse were immediately sent off to secure him; but Cockburn, refusing to deliver him, the Cardinal himself and the Regent followed, blocking up every avenue to the house, so as to render the escape of the reformer impossible. To prevent the effusion of blood, however, the Earl of Bothwell was sent for, who pledged his faith to Cockburn, that he would stand by Wishart, and that no harm should befall him; upon which he was peaceably surrendered. Bothwell, however, wrought upon by the Cardinal, and especially by the Queen-mother, with whom, Knox observes, "he was then in the gladders," after some shuffling to save appearances, delivered his prisoner up to the Cardinal, who imprisoned him, first in the Castle of Edinburgh, and soon after carried him to St Andrews, where he was brought before the ecclesiastical tribunal, condemned for heresy, and most cruelly put to death, as the reader will find related in another part of this work, under the article WISHART. Wishart was a man mighty in the Scriptures, and few even of the martyrs have displayed more of the meekness and humility that ought to characterize the follower of Jesus Christ; but his knowledge of the Scriptures availed him nothing, and the meek graces of his character, like oil thrown upon flame, only heightened the rage and inflamed the fury of his persecutors. Arran, pressed by his friends, and perhaps by his own conscience, wrote to the Cardinal to stay the proceedings till he should have time to inquire into the matter, and threatened him with the guilt of innocent blood. But the warning was in vain, and the innocent victim was only the more rapidly hurried to his end for fear of a rescue.

This act of tyranny and murder was extolled by the clergy and their dependants as highly glorifying to God and honourable to the actor, who was now regarded by them as one of the prime pillars of heaven, under whose auspices the most glorious days might be expected. The people in general felt far otherwise, and, irritated rather than terrified, regarded the Cardinal as a monster of cruelty and lust, whom it would be a meritorious action to destroy. Beaton was not ignorant of the hatred and contempt in which he was held, nor of the devices that were forming against him; but he supposed his power to be now so firmly established as to be beyond the reach of faction, and he was determined by the most prompt and decisive measures to be before-hand with his enemies. In the mean time, he thought it prudent to strengthen his interest, which was already great, by giving his daughter in marriage to the Master of Crawford. For this purpose he proceeded to Angus, where the marriage was celebrated with almost royal splendour, the bride receiving from her father the Cardinal, no less than four thousand marks of dowry. From these festivities he was suddenly recalled by intelligence that Henry of England was collecting a great naval force, with which he intended to annoy Scotland, and especially the coast of Fife. To provide against such an exigency, the Cardinal summoned the nobility to attend him in a tour round the coast, where he ordered fortifications to be made, and garrisons placed in the most advantageous positions. In this tour he was attended by the Master of Rothes, Norman Leslie, who had formerly been one of

his friends, but had of late, from some private grudge, become cold towards him. Some altercation of course ensued, and they parted in mortal enmity; the Cardinal determined secretly to take off, or to imprison Norman, with his friends the Lairds of Grange, elder and younger, Sir James Learmont, provost of St Andrews, and the Laird of Raith, all whom he feared, and Norman resolved to slay the Cardinal, be the consequences what they would.

The Cardinal was in the meantime in great haste to repair and strengthen his castle, upon which a large number of men were employed almost night and day. The conspirators having lodged themselves secretly in St Andrews on the night of May the twenty-eighth, 1546, were, ere the dawn of the next morning, assembled to the number of ten or twelve persons in the neighbourhood of the castle, and the gates being opened to let in the workmen with their building materials, Kircaldy of Grange entered, and with him six persons, who held a parley with the porter. Norman Leslie and his company having then entered, passed to the middle of the court. Lastly came John Leslie and four men with him, at whose appearance the porter, suspecting some design, attempted to lift the drawbridge, but was prevented by Leslie, who leaped upon it, seized the keys, and threw the janitor himself headlong into the ditch. The place thus secured, the workmen, to the number of a hundred, ran off the walls, and were put forth at the wicket gate unhurt. Kircaldy then took charge of the privy postern, the others going through the different chambers, from which they ejected upwards of fifty persons, who were quietly permitted to escape. The Cardinal, roused from his morning slumbers by the noise, threw up his window and asked what it meant. Being answered that Norman Leslie had taken his castle, he ran to the postern, but, finding it secured, returned to his chamber, drew his two-handed sword, and ordered his chamberlain to barricade the door. In the meantime, John Leslie demanded admittance, but did not gain it till a chimneyful of burning coals was brought to burn the door, when the Cardinal or his chamberlain (it is not known which) threw it open. Beaton, who had in the mean time hidden a box of gold under some coals in a corner of the room, now sat down in a chair, crying, "I am a priest, I am a priest; you will not slay me." But he was now in the hands of men to whom his priestly character was no recommendation. John Leslie, according to his vow, struck him twice with his dagger, and so did Peter Carmichael; but James Melville, perceiving them to be in a passion, withdrew them, saying, "This work and judgment of God, although it be secret, ought to be gone about with gravity." Then admonishing the Cardinal of his wicked life, particularly his shedding the blood of that eminent preacher, Mr George Wishart, Melville struck him thrice through with a stag sword, and he fell, exclaiming, "Fie, fie, I am a priest, all's gone!" Before this time the inhabitants of St Andrews were apprized of what was going on, and began to throng around the castle, exclaiming, "Have ye slain my Lord Cardinal? What have ye done with my Lord Cardinal?" As they refused to depart till they saw him, his dead body was slung out by the assassins at the same window from which he had but a short time before witnessed the burning of Mr George Wishart. Having no opportunity to bury the body, they afterwards salted it, wrapped it in lead, and consigned it to the ground floor of the sea tower, the very place where he was said to have caused Rogers the preaching friar to be murdered.

In this manner fell Cardinal David Beaton, in the height of prosperity, and in the prime of life, for he had only reached the fifty-second year of his age. His death was deeply lamented by his own party, to whom it proved an irreparable loss, and the authors of it were regarded by them as sacrilegious assassins, but by numbers, who, on account of difference in religion, were in dread of their lives from his cruelty, and by others who were disgusted by his insufferable

arrogance, they were regarded as the restorers of their country's liberties, and many did not hesitate to hazard their lives and fortunes along with them. Whatever opinion may be formed regarding the manner of his death, there can be only one regarding its effects; the Protestant faith, which had quailed before his persecuting arm, from this moment began to prosper in the land. It is probable, as his enemies alone have been his historians, that the traits of his character, and even the tone and bearing of many of his actions, have been to some degree exaggerated; yet there seems abundant proof of his sensuality, his cruelty, and his total disregard of principle in his exertions for the preservation of the Romish faith. Nothing, on the other hand, but that barbarism of the times, which characterizes all Beaton's policy, as well as his actions, could extenuate the foul deed by which he was removed from the world, or the unseemly sympathy which the reforming party in general manifested towards its perpetrators. As a favourable view of his character, and at the same time a fine specimen of old English composition, we extract the following from the supplement to Dempster:—

"It frequently happens that the same great qualities of mind which enable a man to distinguish himself by the splendour of his virtues, are so overstrained or corrupted as to render him no less notorious for his vices. Of this we have many instances in ancient writers, but none by which it is more clearly displayed than in the character of the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrews, David Beaton, who, from his very childhood, was extremely remarkable, and whose violent death had this in it singular, that his enemies knew no way to remove him from his absolute authority but that [of assassination]. When he was but ten years of age, he spoke with so much ease and gravity, with so much good sense, and freedom from affectation, as surprised all who heard him. When he was little more than twenty, he became known to the Duke of Albany, and to the court of France, where he transacted affairs of the greatest importance, at an age when others begin to become acquainted with them only in books. Before he was thirty, he had merited the confidence of the Regent, the attention of the French King, and the favour of his master, so that they were all suitors to the court of Rome in his behalf. He was soon after made Lord Privy-Seal, and appointed by act of parliament to attend the young king, at his majesty's own desire. Before he attained the forty-fifth year of his age, he was Bishop of Mirepoix in France, Cardinal of the Roman Church, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, to which high dignities he added, before he was fifty, those of Lord High Chancellor, and legate *à latere*. His behaviour was so taking, that he never addicted himself to the service of any prince or person, but he absolutely obtained their confidence, and this power he had over the minds of others, he managed with so much discretion, that his interest never weakened or decayed. He was the favourite of the Regent, Duke of Albany, and of his pupil James V. as long as they lived; and the French king and the governor of Scotland equally regretted his loss. He was indefatigable in business, and yet managed it with great ease. He understood the interests of the courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time, and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the nobility in his own country. In time of danger, he showed great prudence and steadiness of mind, and in his highest prosperity, discovered nothing of vanity or giddiness. He was a zealous churchman, and thought severity the only weapon that could combat heresy. He loved to live magnificently, though not profusely, for at the time of his death he was rich, and yet had provided plentifully for his family. But his vices were many, and his vices scandalous. He quarrelled with the old Archbishop of Glasgow in his own city, and pushed this quarrel so far that their men fought in the very church. His ambition was

boundless, for he took into his hands the entire management of the affairs of the kingdom, civil and ecclesiastical, and treated the English ambassador as if he had been a sovereign prince. He made no scruple of sowing discord among his enemies, that he might reap security from their disputes. His jealousy of the governor [Arran] was such, that he kept his eldest son as a hostage in his house, under pretence of taking care of his education. In point of chastity he was very deficient; for, though we should set aside as calumnies many of those things which his enemies have reported of his intrigues, yet the posterity he left behind him plainly proves that he violated those vows to gratify his passions, which he obliged others to hold sacred on the penalty of their lives. In a word, had his probity been equal to his parts, had his virtues come up to his abilities, his end had been less fatal, and his memory without blemish. As it is, we ought to consider him as an eminent instance of the frailty of the brightest human faculties, and the instability of what the world calls fortune."

He wrote, according to Dempster, "*Memoirs of his own Embassies*," "*A Treatise of Peter's Primacy*," and "*Letters to several Persons*."

BEATON, JAMES, uncle to the preceding, and himself an eminent prelate and statesman, was a younger son of John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife, and of Mary Boswell, daughter of the Laird of Balmouth. Having been educated for the church, he became, in 1503, provost of the collegiate church of Bothwell, by the favour, it has been almost necessarily supposed, of the house of Douglas, who were patrons of the establishment. His promotion was very rapid. In 1504, he was made Abbot of the rich and important abbacy of Dunfermline, which had previously been held by a brother of the king; and in 1505, on the death of his uncle, Sir David Beaton, who had hitherto been his chief patron, he received his office of High Treasurer, and became, of course, one of the principal ministers of state. On the death of Vaus, Bishop of Galloway, in 1508, James Beaton was placed in that see, and next year he was translated to the archbishopric of Glasgow. He now resigned the Treasurer's staff, in order that he might devote himself entirely to his duties as a churchman. While Archbishop of Glasgow, he busied himself in what were then considered the most pious and virtuous of offices, namely, founding new altars in the cathedral, and improving the accommodations of the episcopal palace. He also entitled himself to more lasting and rational praise, by such public acts as the building and repairing of bridges within the regality of Glasgow. Upon all the buildings, both sacred and profane, erected by him, were carefully blazoned his armorial bearings. During all the earlier part of his career, this great prelate seems to have lived on the best terms with the family of Douglas, to which he must have been indebted for his first preferment. In 1515, when it became his duty to consecrate the celebrated Gavin Douglas as Bishop of Dunkeld, he testified his respect for the family by entertaining the poet and all his train in the most magnificent manner at Glasgow, and defraying the whole expenses of his consecration. Archbishop Beaton was destined to figure very prominently in the distracted period which ensued upon the death of James IV. As too often happens in the political scene, the violence of faction broke up his old attachment to the Douglasses. The Earl of Angus, chief of that house, having married the widow of the king, endeavoured, against the general sense of the nation, to obtain the supreme power. Beaton, who was elevated by the Regent Albany, to the high office of Lord Chancellor, and appointed one of the governors of the kingdom during his absence in France, attached himself to the opposite faction of the Hamiltons under the Earl of Arran. On the 29th of April, 1520, a convention having been called to compose the differences of the two parties, the Hamiltons appeared in military guise, and seemed prepared to vindicate their supremacy

with the sword. Beaton, their chief counsellor, sat in his house at the bottom of the Blackfriars Wynd,¹ with armour under his robes, ready apparently to have joined the forces of the Hamiltons, in the event of a quarrel. In this crisis, Gavin Douglas was deputed by his nephew the Earl of Angus, to remonstrate with the Archbishop against the hostile preparations of his party. Beaton endeavoured to gloss over the matter, and concluded with a solemn asseveration upon his conscience, that he knew not of it. As he spoke, he struck his hand upon his breast, and caused the mail to rattle under his gown. Douglas replied, with a cutting equivoque, "Methinks, my lord, your conscience clatters,"—as much as to say, your conscience is unsound, at the same time that the word might mean the undue disclosure of a secret. In the ensuing conflict, which took place upon the streets, the Hamiltons were worsted, and Archbishop Beaton had to take refuge in the Blackfriars Church. Being found there by the Douglasses, he had his rochet torn from his back, and would have been slain on the spot, but for the interposition of the Bishop of Dunkeld. Having with some difficulty escaped, he lived for some time in an obscure way, till the return of the Duke of Albany, by whose interest he was appointed in 1523, to the metropolitan see of St Andrews. On the revival of the power of the Douglasses in the same year, he was again obliged to retire. It is said that the insurrection of the Earl of Lennox in 1525, which ended in the triumph of the Douglasses and the death of the Earl at Linlithgow Bridge, was stirred up by Archbishop Beaton, as a means of emancipating the King. After this unhappy event, the Douglasses persecuted him with such keenness, that, to save his life, he assumed the literal guise and garb of a shepherd, and tended an actual flock upon Bogrian-Knowe in Fife. At length, when James V. asserted his independence of these powerful tutors, and banished them from the kingdom, Beaton was reinstated in all his dignities, except that of Chancellor, which was conferred upon Gavin Dunbar, the King's preceptor. He henceforward resided chiefly at St Andrews, where, in 1527, he was induced by the persuasions of other churchmen less mild than himself, to consent to the prosecution and death of Patrick Hamilton, the proto-martyr of the Scottish Reformation. He was subsequently led on to various severities against the reformers, but rather through a want of power to resist the clamours of his brethren, than any disposition to severity in his own nature. It would appear that he latterly entrusted much of the administration of his affairs to his less amiable nephew. The chief employment of his latter years was to found and endow the New College of St Andrews, in which design, however, he was thwarted in a great measure by his executors, who misapplied the greater part of his funds. He died in 1539.

BEATON, JAMES, Archbishop of Glasgow, was the second of the seven sons of John Beaton, or Bethune of Baffour, elder brother of Cardinal Beaton. He received the chief part of his education at Paris, under the care of his celebrated uncle, who was then residing in the French capital as ambassador from James V. His first preferment in the church was to be chanter of the cathedral of Glasgow, under Archbishop Dunbar. When his uncle attained to nearly supreme power, he was employed by him in many important matters, and in 1543, succeeded him as Abbot of Aberbrothick. The death of the Cardinal does not appear to have materially retarded the advancement of his nephew; for we find that, in 1552, he had sufficient interest with the existing government, to receive the second place in the Scottish church, the Archbishopric of Glasgow, to which he was consecrated at Rome. He was now one of the most important personages in the kingdom; he enjoyed the confidence of the governor, the Earl of Arran; his niece, Mary Beaton, one of the "Four Maries," was the

¹ Lane.

favourite of the young Queen Mary, now residing in France; and he was also esteemed very highly by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Lorraine, who was now aspiring to the Regency. During the subsequent sway of the Queen Regent, the Archbishop of St Andrews enjoyed her highest confidence. It was to him that she handed the celebrated letter addressed to her by John Knox, saying with a careless air, "Please you, my lord, to read a *pasquil*." In 1557, when the marriage of the youthful Mary to the Dauphin of France was about to take place, James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews, stood the first of the parliamentary commissioners appointed to be present at the ceremony, and to conduct the difficult business which was to precede it. He and his companions executed this duty in a most satisfactory manner. After his return in 1558, he acted as a Privy Councillor to the Queen Regent, till she was unable any longer to contend with the advancing tide of the Reformation. In November, 1559, his former friend, the Earl of Arran, who had now become a leading reformer, came with a powerful retinue to Glasgow, and, to use a delicate phrase of the time, "took order" with the Cathedral, which he cleared of all the images, placing a garrison at the same time in the Archbishop's palace. Beaton soon after recovered his house by means of a few French soldiers; but he speedily found that neither he nor his religion could maintain a permanent footing in the country.

In June, 1560, the Queen Regent expired, almost at the very moment when her authority became extinct. Her French troops, in terms of a treaty with the Reformers, sailed next month for their native country, and in the same ships was the Archbishop of Glasgow, along with all the plate and records of the cathedral, which he said he would never return till the Catholic faith should again be triumphant in Scotland. Some of these articles were of great value. Among the plate, which was very extensive and rich, was a golden image of Christ, with silver images of his twelve apostles. Among the records, which were also very valuable, were two chartularies, one of which had been written in the reign of Robert III., and was called, "The Red Book of Glasgow." All these objects were deposited by the Archbishop in the Scots College at Paris, where the manuscripts continued to be of use to Scottish antiquaries up to the period of the French Revolution, when, it is believed, they were destroyed or dispersed. Beaton was received by Queen Mary at Paris, with the distinction due to a virtuous and able counsellor of her late mother. On her departure next year, to assume the reins of government in Scotland, she left him in charge of her affairs in France. He spent the whole of the subsequent part of his life as ambassador from the Scottish court to his most Christian Majesty. This duty was one of extreme delicacy during the brief reign of Queen Mary, when the relation of the two courts was of the most important character. Mary addressed him frequently in her own hand, and a letter in which she details to him the circumstances of her husband's death, is a well known historical document.

It is not probable that Beaton's duty as an ambassador during the minority of James VI. was any thing but a titular honour; but that prince, on taking the government into his own hands, did not hesitate, notwithstanding the difference of religion, to employ a statesman who had already done faithful service to the two preceding generations. James also, in 1587, was able to restore to him both his title and estates as Archbishop of Glasgow; a proceeding quite anomalous, when we consider that the presbyterian religion was now established in Scotland. The Archbishop died, April 24, 1603, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and a full jubilee of years from his consecration. He had been ambassador to three generations of the Scottish royal family, and had seen in France a succession of six kings, and transacted public affairs under five of them. He also had the satisfaction of seeing his sovereign accede to the English throne.

James learned the intelligence of his death while on his journey to London, and immediately appointed the historian Spottiswoode to be his successor in the cathedral chair of Glasgow. Archbishop Spottiswoode characterises him as "a man honourably disposed, faithful to the Queen while she lived, and to the King her son; a lover of his country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his countrymen." His reputation, indeed, is singularly pure, when it is considered with what vigour he opposed the reformation. He appears to have been regarded by the opposite party as a conscientious, however mistaken man, and to have been spared accordingly all those calumnies and sarcasms with which party rage is apt to bespatter its opponents. Having enjoyed several livings in France, besides the less certain revenues of Glasgow, he died in possession of a fortune amounting to 80,000 livres, all of which he left to the Scots College, for the benefit of poor scholars of Scotland; a gift so munificent, that he was afterwards considered as the second founder of the institution, the first having been a bishop of Moray, in the year 1325. Besides all this wealth, he left an immense quantity of diplomatic papers, accumulated during the course of his legation at Paris; which, if they had been preserved to the present time, would unquestionably have thrown a strong light upon the events of his time.

BEATSON, ROBERT, LL.D. an ingenious and useful author, was a native of Dysart, where he was born in 1742. Being educated with a view to the military profession, he obtained an ensigncy in 1756, at the commencement of the seven years' war. He served next year in the expedition to the coast of France, and afterwards, as lieutenant, in the attack on Martinique, and the taking of Guadaloupe. In 1766, he retired on half-pay, and did not again seek to enter into active life till the breaking out of the American war. Having failed on this occasion to obtain an appointment suitable to his former services, he resolved to apply himself to another profession—that of literature—for which he had all along had considerable taste. His publications were, 1, "A Political Index to the Histories of Great Britain and Ireland," 1 vol. 8vo. 1786, of which a third edition in 3 volumes was published at a late period of his life. This work consists chiefly of accurate and most useful lists of all the ministers and other principal officers of the state, from the earliest time to the period of its publication. 2, "Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain, from 1727 to the present time," 3 vols. 8vo. 1790; 2nd edition, 6 vols. 1804. 3, "View of the Memorable Action of the 27th of July, 1778," 8vo. 1791. 4, "Essay on the Comparative Advantages of Vertical and Horizontal Windmills," 8vo. 1798. 5, "Chronological Register of both Houses of Parliament, from 1706 to 1807," 3 vols. 8vo. 1807. Besides some communications to the board of agriculture, of which he was an honorary member. This laborious author enjoyed in his latter years the situation of barrack-master at Aberdeen, where, if we are not mistaken, he received his degree of LL.D. He died at Edinburgh, January 24, 1818.

BEATTIE, JAMES, poet and moral philosopher, was born on the 25th October, 1735, at Laurencekirk, then an obscure hamlet in Kincardineshire. His father, James Beattie, was a small shop-keeper in the village, and at the same time rented a little farm in the neighbourhood. His mother's name was Jean Watson, and they had six children, of whom the subject of this article was the youngest. The father was a man of information, and of character superior to his condition, and the mother was also a person of abilities; on the early death of her husband, she carried on the business of his shop and farm, with the assistance of her eldest son, and thus was able to rear her family in a comfortable manner.

Young Beattie, who, from his earliest years, was considered a child of prodigy.

mise, received the rudiments of a classical education at the parish school, which had been taught forty years before by Ruddiman, and was at this time a seminary of considerable reputation. His avidity for books, which, in such a scene might have otherwise remained unsatisfied, was observed by the minister, who kindly admitted him to the use of his library. From a copy of Ogilvy's Virgil, obtained in this way, he derived his first notions of English versification. Even at this early period, his turn for poetry began to manifest itself, and among his school-fellows he went by the name of *the Poet*. In 1749, being fourteen years of age, he commenced an academical course at Mareschal College, Aberdeen, and was distinguished by Professor Blackwell as the best scholar in the Greek class. Having entitled himself by this superiority to a bursary, he continued at the college for three years more, studying philosophy under the distinguished Gerard, and divinity under Dr Pollock. His original destination being for the church, he read a discourse in the Hall, which met with much commendation, but was at the same time remarked to be *poetry in prose*. Before the period when he should have taken his trials before the presbytery, he relinquished all thoughts of this profession, and settled as school-master of the parish of Fordoun, near his native village.

In this humble situation, Beattie spent the years between 1753 and 1758. In the almost total want of society, he devoted himself alternately to useful study and to poetical recreation. It was at this period of life his supreme delight to saunter in the fields the livelong night, contemplating the sky, and marking the approach of day. At a small distance from the place of his residence, a deep and extensive glen, finely clothed with wood, runs up into the mountains. Thither he frequently repaired; and there several of his earliest pieces were written. From that wild and romantic spot, he drew, as from the life, some of the finest descriptions, and most beautiful pictures of nature, that occur in his poetical compositions. It is related that, on one occasion, having lain down early in the morning on the bank of his favourite rivulet, adjoining to his mother's house, he had fallen asleep; on awaking, it was not without astonishment that he found he had been walking in his sleep, and that he was then at a considerable distance (about a mile and a half) from the place where he had lain down. On his way back to that spot, he passed some labourers, and inquiring of them if they had seen him walking along, they told him that they had, with his head hanging down, as if looking for something he had lost. Such an incident, though by no means unexampled, shows to what a degree Beattie was now the creature of impulse and imagination. He was, indeed, exactly the fanciful being whom he has described in "The Minstrel." Fortunately for Beattie, Mr Garden, advocate, (afterwards Lord Gardenstone) who at that time resided in the neighbourhood, found him one day sitting in one of his favourite haunts, employed in writing with a pencil. On discovering that he was engaged in the composition of poetry, Mr Garden became interested, and soon found occasion to honour the young bard with his friendship and patronage. Beattie at the same time became acquainted with Lord Monboddo, whose family seat was within the parish.

In 1757, when a vacancy occurred in the place of usher to the grammar-school of Aberdeen, Beattie applied for it, and stood an examination, without success. On the place becoming again vacant next year, he had what he considered the good fortune to be elected. This step was of some importance to him, as it brought him into contact with a circle of eminent literary and professional characters, who then adorned the colleges of Aberdeen, and to whom he soon made himself favourably known.

In 1760, one of the chairs in the Marischal College became vacant by the

death of Dr Duncan, professor of Natural Philosophy. Beattie, whose ambition had never presumed to soar to such an object, happened to mention the circumstance in conversation, as one of the occurrences of the day, to his friend, Mr Arbuthnot, merchant in Aberdeen;¹ who surprised him with a proposal that he should apply for the vacant situation. With a reluctant permission from Beattie, he exerted his influence with the Earl of Errol to apply, by means of Lord Milton, to the Duke of Argyll, who then dispensed the crown patronage of Scotland; and to the astonishment of the subject of the application, he received the appointment. By an accommodation, however, with the nominee to another vacant chair, he became professor of Moral, instead of Natural Philosophy; an arrangement suitable to the genius and qualifications of both the persons concerned.

By this honourable appointment, Beattie found himself, through an extraordinary dispensation of fortune, elevated in the course of two years from the humble and obscure situation of a country parish school-master, to a place of very high dignity in one of the principal seats of learning in the country, where he could give full scope to his talents, and indulge, in the greatest extent, his favourite propensity of communicating knowledge. His first business was to prepare a course of lectures, which he began to deliver to his pupils during the session of 1760-1, and which, during subsequent years, he greatly improved. In the discharge of his duties, he was quite indefatigable; not only delivering the usual lectures, but taking care, by frequent recapitulations and public examinations, to impress upon the minds of his auditors the great and important doctrines which he taught.

So early as the year 1756, Dr Beattie had occasionally sent poetical contributions to the *Scots Magazine* from his retirement at Fordoun. Some of these, along with others, he now arranged in a small volume, which was published at London, 1760, and dedicated to the Earl of Errol, his recent benefactor. His "Original Poems and Translations,"—such was the title of the volume—made him favourably known to the public as a poet, and encouraged him to further exertions in that branch of composition. He also studied verse-making as an art, and in 1762, wrote his "Essay on Poetry," which was published in 1776, along with the quarto edition of his "Essay on Truth." In 1763, he visited London from curiosity, and in 1765, he published a poem of considerable length, but unfortunate design, under the title of "The Judgment of Paris," which threatened to be as fatal to his poetical career, as its subject had been to the Trojan state. In 1766, he published an enlarged edition of his poems, containing, among other compositions, "The Judgment of Paris;" but this poem he never afterwards reprinted. His object was to make the classical fable subservient to the cause of virtue, by personifying wisdom, ambition, and pleasure, in the characters of three goddesses, an idea too metaphysical to be generally liked, and which could scarcely be compensated by the graces of even Beattie's muse.

Gray, the author of the "Elegy in a Country Church-yard," visited Scotland in the autumn of 1765, and lived for a short time at Glamis Castle with the Earl of Strathmore. Beattie, whose poetical genius was strongly akin to that of Gray, wrote to him, intreating the honour of an interview; and this was speedily accomplished, by an invitation for Dr Beattie to Glamis Castle, where the two poets laid the foundation of a friendship that was only interrupted by the death of Gray in 1771. In a letter to Sir William Forbes, Beattie thus speaks of the distinguished author of the *Elegy*:

¹ Father to Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart. who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the visit of George IV. in 1822.

"You would have been much pleased with Mr Gray. Setting aside his merit as a poet, which, however, is greater in my opinion than any of his contemporaries can boast, in this or any other nation, I found him possessed of the most exact taste, the soundest judgment, and the most extensive learning. He is happy in a singular facility of expression. His conversation abounds in original observations, delivered with no appearance of sententious formality, and seeming to arise spontaneously, without study or premeditation. I passed two very agreeable days with him at Glamis, and found him as easy in his manners, and as communicative and frank, as I could have wished."

It is curious to find that, during this trip to Scotland, Gray thus expressed himself to Dr Gregory of Edinburgh regarding the immortal poem to which his name is so endearingly attached; "he told me," says Dr Gregory, "*with a good deal of acrimony*, it owed its popularity entirely to the subject, and that the public would have received it as well if it had been written in prose."

Beattie was at this period in a low state of health, being afflicted with a kind of giddiness, which defied all his efforts to banish it, and even threatened to interrupt his professional duties. In a letter to the honourable Charles Boyd, brother of the Earl of Errol, he thus playfully alludes to this, as well as several other personal peculiarities:

"I flatter myself that I shall ere long be in the way of becoming a *great man*. For have I not headaches like Pope? vertigo like Swift? grey hairs like Homer?" Do I not wear large shoes (for fear of corns) like Virgil? and sometimes complain of sore eyes (though not of lippitude) like Horace? Am I met, at this present writing, invested with a garment not less ragged than that of Socrates? Like Joseph the patriarch, I am a mighty dreamer of dreams; like Nimrod the hunter, I am an eminent builder of castles (in the air). I procrastinate like Julius Caesar; and very lately in imitation of Don Quixote, I rode a horse, lean, old, and lazy, like Rosinante. Sometimes, like Cicero, I write bad verses; and sometimes bad prose like Virgil. This last instance I have on the authority of Seneca. I am of small stature like Alexander the Great; somewhat inclined to fatness like Dr Arbuthnot and Aristotle; and I drink brandy and water like Mr Boyd. I might compare myself, in relation to many other infirmities, to many other *great men*; but if fortune is not influenced in my favour by the particulars already enumerated, I shall despair of ever recommending myself to her good graces."

Some time previous to September 1766, Beattie commenced a poem in the Spenserian stanza; a description of verse to which he was much attached, on account of its harmony, and its admitting of so many fine pauses and diversified terminations. The subject was suggested to him by the dissertation on the old minstrels, which was prefixed to Dr Percy's "*Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*," then just published. In May, 1767, he informs his friend Blacklock at Edinburgh, that he wrote one hundred and fifty lines of this poem some months before, and had not since added a single stanza. His hero was not then even born, though in the fair way of being so; his parents being described and married. He proposed to continue the poem at his leisure, with a description of the character and profession of his ideal minstrel; but he was woefully cast down by the scantiness of the poetical taste of the age.

On the 28th of June, 1767, Dr Beattie was married at Aberdeen, to Miss Mary Dun, the only daughter of Dr James Dun, rector of the grammar-school of that city. The heart of the poet had previously been engaged in honourable affection to a Miss Mary Lindsay, whom, so late as the year 1823, the writer of

¹ Forbes' *Life of Beattie*, 4to. vol. i. p. 88.

² Hair, like Byron's, "grey at thirty!"

this memoir heard recite a poem written by Beattie in her praise, the lines of which commenced with the letters of her name in succession. The venerable lady was the widow of a citizen of Montrose, and in extreme, though healthy old age.

At this period, infidelity had become fashionable to a great extent in Scotland, in consequence of the *eclat* which attended the publication of Hume's metaphysical treatises. Attempts had been made by Drs Reid and Campbell, in respective publications, to meet the arguments of the illustrious sceptic; but it was justly remarked by the friends of religion, that the treatises of these two individuals assumed too much of that deferential tone towards the majesty of Mr Hume's intellect and reputation, which was to be complained of in society at large, and no doubt was one of the causes why his sceptical notions had become so fashionable. It occurred to Dr Beattie, and he was encouraged in the idea by his friends Dr Gregory, Sir William Forbes, and other zealous adherents of Christianity, that a work treating Hume a little more roughly, and not only answering him with argument, but assailing him and his followers with ridicule, might meet the evil more extensively, and be more successful in bringing back the public to a due sense of religion. Such was the origin of his "Essay on Truth," which was finished for the press in autumn 1769.

It is curious that this essay, so powerful as a defence of religion, was only brought into the world by means of a kind of *pia fraus*. The manuscript was committed to Sir William Forbes and Mr Arbuthnot, at Edinburgh, with an injunction to dispose of it to any bookseller who would pay a price for it, so as to insure its having the personal interest of a tradesman in pushing it forward in the world. Unfortunately, however, the publisher to whom these gentlemen applied, saw so little prospect of profit in a work on the unfashionable side of the argument, that he positively refused to bring it forth unless at the risk of the author; a mode to which it was certain that Dr Beattie would never agree. "Thus," says Sir William Forbes, "there was some danger of a work being lost, the publication of which, we flattered ourselves, would do much good in the world.

"In this dilemma it occurred to me," continues Beattie's excellent biographer, "that we might, without much artifice, bring the business to an easy conclusion by our own interposition. We therefore resolved that we ourselves should be the purchasers, at a sum with which we knew Dr Beattie would be well satisfied, as the price of the first edition. But it was absolutely necessary that the business should be glossed over as much as possible; otherwise, we had reason to fear that he would not consent to our taking on us a risk which he himself had refused to run.

"I therefore wrote him (nothing surely but the truth, although, I confess, not the whole truth,) that the manuscript was sold for fifty guineas, which I remitted to him by a bank-bill; and I added that we had stipulated with the bookseller who was to print the book, that we should be partners in the publication. On such trivial causes do things of considerable moment often depend; for had it not been for this interference of ours in this somewhat ambiguous manner, perhaps the 'Essay on Truth,' on which all Dr Beattie's future fortunes hinged, might never have seen the light."

In the prosecution of his design, Dr Beattie has treated his subject in the following manner: he first endeavours to trace the different kinds of evidence and reasoning up to their first principles; with a view to ascertain the standard of truth, and explain its immutability. He shows, in the second place, that his sentiments on this head, how inconsistent soever with the genius of scepticism, and with the principles and practice of sceptical writers, are yet perfectly con-

sistent with the genius of true philosophy, and with the practice and principles of those whom all acknowledge to have been the most successful in the investigation of truth; concluding with some inferences or rules, by which the most important fallacies of the sceptical philosophers may be detected by every person of common sense, even though he should not possess acuteness of metaphysical knowledge sufficient to qualify him for a logical confutation of them. In the third place he answers some objections, and makes some remarks, by way of estimate of scepticism and sceptical writers.

The Essay appeared in May 1770, and met with the most splendid success. It immediately became a shield in the hands of the friends of religion, wherewith to intercept and turn aside the hitherto resistless shafts of the sceptics. A modern metaphysician may perhaps find many flaws in the work; but, at the time of its publication, it was received as a complete and triumphant refutation of all that had been advanced on the other side. Under favour of the *eclat* which attended the publication, religion again raised its head, and for a time infidelity was not nearly so fashionable as it had been.

After getting this arduous business off his mind, Beattie returned to his long Spenserian poem, and, in 1771, appeared the first part of "The Minstrel," without his name. It was so highly successful, that he was encouraged to republish this, along with a second part, in 1774; when his name appeared in the title-page. "Of all his poetical works, 'the Minstrel' is, beyond all question, the best, whether we consider the plan or the execution. The language is extremely elegant, the versification harmonious, it exhibits the richest poetic imagery with a delightful flow of the most sublime, delicate, and pathetic sentiment. It breathes the spirit of the purest virtue, the soundest philosophy, and the most exquisite taste. In a word, it is at once highly conceived and admirably finished."¹ Lord Lyttleton thus expressed his approbation of the poem; one of the most warmly conceived compliments that was ever perhaps paid by a poet to his fellow: "I read the Minstrel with as much rapture as poetry, in her sweetest, noblest charms, ever raised in my mind. It seemed to me, that my once most beloved minstrel, Thomson, was come down from heaven, refined by the converse of purer spirits than those he lived with here, to let me hear him sing again the beauties of nature and finest feelings of virtue, not with human but with angelic strains!" It is to be regretted that Beattie never completed this poem. He originally designed that the hero should be employed in the third canto in rousing his countrymen to arms for defence against a foreign invasion, and that, overpowered and banished by this host, he should go forth to other lands in his proper character of a wandering minstrel. It must always be recollected, in favour of this poem, that it was the first of any length, in pure English, which had been published by a Scottish writer in his own country—so late has been the commencement of this department of our literature.

Beattie visited London a second time in 1771, and, as might be expected from his increased reputation, entered more largely into literary society than on the former occasion. Among those who honoured him with their notice, was Dr Johnson, who had been one of the warmest admirers of the Essay on Truth. In 1773, he paid another visit to the metropolis, along with his wife, and was received into a still wider and more eminent circle than before. On this occasion, the university of Oxford conferred upon him an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

The chief object of this tour was to secure a provision which his friends had led him to expect from the government, in consideration of his services in the cause of religion. Many plans were proposed by his friends for obtaining this

¹ Forbes' Life of Beattie.

object. A bishop is believed to have suggested to the king, that the author of the *Essay on Truth* might be introduced to the English church, and advanced according to his merits; to which the king, however, is said to have slyly replied, that, as Scotland abounded most in infidels, it would be best for the general interests of religion that he should be kept there. George III., who had read and admired Beattie's book, and whose whole mind ran in favour of virtue and religion, suggested himself the more direct plan of granting him a pension of two hundred pounds a year, which was accordingly carried into effect. The king also honoured Dr Beattie with his particular notice at a *levee*, and, further, granted him the favour of an interview in his private apartments at Kew for upwards of an hour. The agreeable conversation and unassuming manners of Dr Beattie appear to have not only made a most favourable impression upon the king and queen—for her majesty also was present at this interview—but upon every member of that lofty circle of society to which he was introduced.

Even after he had been thus provided for, several dignified clergymen of the church of England continued to solicit him to take orders; and one bishop went so far as directly to tempt him with the offer of a rectorate worth five hundred a-year. He had no disinclination to the office of a clergyman, and he decidedly preferred the government and worship of the English church to the presbyterian system of his own country. But he could not be induced to take such a reward for his efforts in behalf of religion, lest his enemies might say that he had never contemplated any loftier principle than that of bettering his own circumstances. Nearly about the same time, he further proved the total absence of a mercenary tinge in his character, by refusing to be promoted to the chair of Moral Philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. His habits of life were now, indeed, so completely associated with Aberdeen, and its society, that he seems to have contemplated any change, however tempting, with a degree of pain.

About this time, some letters passed between him and Dr Priestley, on occasion of an attack made by the latter on the *Essay on Truth*. In his correspondence with this ingenious but petulant adversary, Dr Beattie shows a great deal of candour and dignity. He had at first intended to reply, but this intention he appears afterwards to have dropped: "Dr Priestley," says he, "having declared that he will answer whatever I may publish in my own vindication, and being a man who loves bustle and book-making, he wishes above all things that I should give him a pretext for continuing the dispute. To silence him by force of argument, is, I know, impossible."

In the year 1786, Beattie took a keen interest in favour of a scheme then agitated, not for the first time, to unite the two colleges of Aberdeen. It was found impossible to carry this project into effect, though it is certainly one of those obvious improvements which must sooner or later be accomplished. In the same year, Dr Beattie projected a new edition of Addison's prose works, with a biographical and critical preface to the extent of half a volume, in which he meant to show the peculiar merits of the style of Addison, as well as to point out historically the changes which the English language has undergone from time to time, and the hazard to which it is exposed of being debased and corrupted by modern innovations. He was reluctantly compelled by the state of his health to retrench the better part of this scheme. The works of Addison were published under his care, in 1790, by Messrs Creech and Sibbald, booksellers, Edinburgh, but he could only give Tickell's *Life*, together with some extracts from Dr Johnson's "Remarks on Addison's Prose," adding a few notes of his own, to make up any material deficiency in Tickell's narrative, and illustrating Johnson's critique by a few occasional annotations. Though these additions to his original stock of materials, are very slight, the admirer of Addison is much gratified by some new

information which he was ignorant of before, and to which Dr Beattie has given a degree of authenticity, by adhering, even in this instance, to his general practice of putting his name to every thing he wrote.

In 1787, Dr Beattie made application to the Marischal college, while the project of the union was still pending, desiring that his eldest son, James Hay Beattie, then in his twentieth year, should be recommended to the crown as his assistant and successor in the chair of Moral Philosophy. The letter in which this application was made, sets forth the extraordinary qualifications of his son, with a delightful mixture of delicacy and warmth. The young man was an excellent Greek and Latin scholar; wrote and talked beautifully in the latter language, as well as in English, and, to use the language of his father, the best of his genius lay entirely towards theology, classical learning, morals, poetry, and criticism. The college received the application with much respect, and, after a short delay on account of the business of the union, gave a cordial sanction to the proposal.

Unfortunately for the peace of Dr Beattie's latter years, his son, while in the possession of the highest intellectual qualifications, and characterised by every virtue that could be expected from his years, was destined by the inherent infirmity of his constitution for an early death. After his demise, which happened on the 19th of November, 1790, when he had just turned two-and-twenty, Dr Beattie published a small collection of his writings, along with an elaborate preface, entering largely into the character and qualifications of the deceased. In this, he was justified by the admiration which he heard everywhere expressed, of the character and intellect of his son; but, as posterity appears to have reduced the prodigy to its proper limits, which were nothing wonderful, it is unnecessary to bring it further into notice. The following is the more unaffected and touching account which the afflicted parent has given of his loss, in a letter to the Duchess of Gordon; a lady with whom, for many years, he cultivated the warmest friendship, and whose society he largely enjoyed, along with his son, during repeated visits to Gordon Castle:

"Knowing with what kindness and condescension your Grace takes an interest in every thing that concerns me and my little family, I take the liberty to inform you that my son James is dead; that the last duties are now paid; and that I am endeavouring to return, with the little ability that is left me, and with entire submission to the will of Providence, to the ordinary business of life. I have lost one who was always a pleasing companion; but who, for the last five or six years, was one of the most entertaining and instructive friends that ever man was blest with: for his mind comprehended almost every science; he was a most attentive observer of life and manners: a master of classical learning; and he possessed an exuberance of wit and humour, a force of understanding, and a correctness and delicacy of taste, beyond any other person of his age I have ever known.

"He was taken ill on the night of the 30th of November, 1789; and from that time his decline commenced. It was long what physicians call a *nervous atrophy*; but towards the end of June, symptoms began to appear of the lungs being affected. Goat's milk, and afterwards asses' milk, were procured for him in abundance; and such exercise as he could bear he regularly took: these means lengthened his days, no doubt, and alleviated his sufferings, which indeed were very often severe; but in spite of all that could be done, he grew weaker and weaker, and died the 19th of November, 1790, without complaint or pain, without even a groan or sigh; retaining to his last moment the use of his rational faculties: indeed, from first to last, not one delirious word escaped him. He lived twenty-two years and thirteen days. Many weeks before it came, he saw

death approaching; and he met it with such composure and pious resignation, as may no doubt be equalled, but cannot be surpassed.

" * * * My chief comfort arises from reflecting upon the particulars of his life; which was one uninterrupted exercise of piety, benevolence, filial affection, and indeed every virtue which it was in his power to practise, I shall not, with respect to him, adopt a mode of speech which has become too common, and call him *my poor son*, for I must believe that he is infinitely happy, and will be so for ever."

Dr Beattie bore the loss of his son with an appearance of fortitude and resignation. Yet, although his grief was not loud, it was deep. He said, in a subsequent letter, alluding to a monument which he had erected for his son: "I often dream of the grave that is under it: I saw, with some satisfaction, on a late occasion, that it is very deep, and capable of holding my coffin laid on that which is already in it;" words that speak more eloquently of the grief which this event had fixed in the heart of the writer, than a volume could have done. The following is a copy of the epitaph which he composed for his amiable and accomplished child:—

JACOBO HAY BEATTIE. JACOBI, F.

Philos. in Acad. Marischal Professori.

Adolescenti.

Ea. Modestia.

Ea. suavitati. morum.

Ea. benevolentia. erga. omnes.

Erga. Deum. pietate.

Ut. Humanum. nihil. supra.

In. bonis. literis.

In. theologia.

In. omni. Philosophia.

Exercitissimo.

Poeta. insuper.

Rebus. in. levioribus. faceto.

In. grandioribus. sublimi.

Qui. Placidam. Animam. efflavit.

xix. Novemb. mdcxc.

Annos. habens. xxii. diesque. xiii.

PATER MORRENS. H. M. P.

Another exemplification of the rooted sorrow which this event planted in the mind of Beattie, occurs in a letter written during a visit in England, in the subsequent summer. Speaking of the commemoration music, which was performed in Westminster Abbey, "by the greatest band of musicians that ever were brought together in this country," he tells that the state of his health could not permit him to be present. Then recollecting his son's accomplishment as a player on the organ, he adds, "Perhaps this was no loss to me. Even the organ of Durham cathedral was too much for my feelings; for it brought too powerfully to my remembrance another organ, much smaller indeed, but more interesting, which I can never hear any more."

In 1790, Dr Beattie published the first volume of his "Elements of Moral Science," the second volume of which did not make its appearance till 1793. He had, in 1776, published a series of Essays on poetry and music, on laughable and ludicrous composition, and on the utility of classical learning. In 1783, had appeared "Dissertations, Moral and Critical," and, in 1786, a small tract entitled, "The Evidences of the Christian Religion, briefly and plainly stated." All of these minor productions originally formed part of the course of prelections which he read from his chair in the university; his aim in their publication be-

ing "to inure young minds to habits of attentive observation; to guard them against the influence of bad principles; and to set before them such views of nature, and such plain and practical truths, as might at once improve the heart and the understanding, and amuse and elevate the fancy." His "*Elements of Moral Science*," was a summary of the whole of that course of lectures, a little enlarged in the doctrinal parts, with the addition of a few illustrative examples. In a certain degree, this work may be considered as a text-book; it is one, however, so copious in its extent, so luminous in its arrangement and language, and so excellent in the sentiments it everywhere inculcates, that if the profound metaphysician and logician do not find in it that depth of science which they may expect to meet with in other works of greater erudition, the candid enquirer after truth may rest satisfied, that, if he has studied these "*Elements*" with due attention, he will have laid a solid foundation, on which to build all the knowledge of the subject necessary for the common purposes of life. Of such of the lectures as had already appeared in an extended shape, under the name of "*Essays*," particularly those on the theory of language, and on memory and imagination, Dr Beattie has made this abridgment as brief as was consistent with any degree of perspicuity; while he bestowed no less than seventy pages on his favourite topic, the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and the subject of slavery connected with it.

While delighting the world with the quick succession and variety of his productions, Dr Beattie was himself nearly all the while a prey to the severest private sufferings. Mrs Beattie had unfortunately inherited from her mother a tendency to madness. Though this did not for a considerable time break out into open insanity, yet in a few years after their marriage, it showed itself in caprices and follies, which embittered every hour of her husband's life. Dr Beattie tried for a long time to conceal her disorder from the world, and, if possible, as he has been heard to say, from himself; but at last, from whim, caprice, and melancholy, it broke out into downright phrenzy, which rendered her seclusion from society absolutely necessary. During every stage of her illness, he watched and cherished her with the utmost tenderness and care; using every means at first that medicine could furnish for her recovery, and afterwards, when her condition was found to be perfectly hopeless, procuring for her, in an asylum at Musselburgh, every accommodation and comfort that could tend to alleviate her sufferings. "When I reflect," says Sir William Forbes, "on the many sleepless nights, and anxious days, which he experienced from Mrs Beattie's malady, and think of the unwearied and unremitting attention he paid to her, during so great a number of years in that sad situation, his character is exalted in my mind to a degree which may be equalled, but I am sure never can be excelled, and makes the fame of the poet and the philosopher fade from my remembrance."

The pressure of this calamity—slow but certain—the death of his eldest son, and the continued decline of his health, made it necessary, in the session of 1793-4, that he should be assisted in the duties of his class. From that period till 1797, when he finally relinquished his professorial duties, he was aided by Mr George Glennie, his relation and pupil. He experienced an additional calamity in 1796, by the sudden death of his only remaining son, Montague, a youth of eighteen, less learned than his brother, but of still more amiable manners, and whom he had designed for the English church. This latter event unhinged the mind of Beattie, who, it may be remarked, had always been greatly dependent on the society, and even on the assistance, of his children. The care of their education, in which he was supposed to be only over indulgent, had been his chief employment for many years. This last event, by rendering him childless, dissolved nearly the last remaining tie which bound him to the world; and left

him a miserable wreck upon the shores of life. Many days had not elapsed after the death of Montague Beattie, ere he began to display symptoms of a decayed intellect, in an almost total loss of memory respecting his son. He would search through the whole house for him, and then say to his niece and housekeeper, Mrs Glennie, "You may think it strange, but I must ask you, if I have a son, and where he is." This lady would feel herself under the painful necessity of bringing to his recollection the death-bed sufferings of his son, which always restored him to reason. And he would then, with many tears, express his thankfulness that he had no child, saying, with allusion to the malady they might have derived from their mother, "How could I have borne to see their elegant minds mangled with madness?" When he looked for the last time on the dead body of his son, and thought of the separation about to take place between himself and the last being that connected him with this sublunary scene, he said, "Now, I have done with the world!" After this, he never bent his mind again to study, never touched the violincello on which he used to be an excellent and a frequent player, nor answered the letters of his friends, except, perhaps, a very few. He commanded his mind, however, to compose the following epitaph on his son; it was the last effort of the Minstrel, and has all his usual happiness in this peculiar branch of composition:

MONTAGU. BEATTIE.

Jacobi. Hay. Beattie. Frater.

Ejusque. virtutum. et. studiorum.

Æmulus.

Sepulchrique. consors

Variarum. Peritus. Artium.

Pingendi. imprimis.

Natus. Octavo. Julii. MDCCCLXXVIII.

Mulum. Defectus. obiit.

Decimo. quarto. Martii. MDCCCXCV.

The phrase "*sepulchrique consors*" was literally true. That space in the roomy grave of his eldest son, which he had calculated on as sufficient for himself, was devoted to receive this second and final hope of his old age.

In March 1797, Dr Beattie became completely crippled with rheumatism, and in the beginning of 1799, he experienced a stroke of palsy, which for eight days so affected his speech that he could not make himself understood, and even forgot several of the most material words of every sentence. At different periods after this, he had several returns of the same afflicting malady; the last, in October 1802, deprived him altogether of the power of motion. He lingered for ten months in this humiliating situation, but was at length relieved from all his sufferings by the more kindly stroke of death, August 18, 1803. He expired without the least appearance of suffering. His remains were deposited close to those of his two sons in the ancient cemetery of St Nicolas, and were marked soon after by a monument, for which Dr James Gregory of Edinburgh, supplied an elegant inscription.

The eminent rank which Dr Beattie holds as a Christian moral philosopher is a sufficient testimony of the public approbation of his larger literary efforts. It may, however, be safely predicted, that his reputation will, after all, centre in his "Minstrel," which is certainly his most finished work, and, every thing considered, the most pleasing specimen of his intellect. If we consider how much original talent, and how much cultivated taste must have been necessary to the composition of this beautiful poem, we will wonder that such should have been found in a professor of a Scottish provincial university, at a time when scarcely any vestige of the same qualifications was to be found out of London. "Beat-

tie," says Cowper—a kindred mind, well qualified to judge of his merits, "is the most agreeable and amiable writer I have ever met with; the only author I have seen whose critical and philosophical researches are diversified and embellished by a poetical imagination, that makes even the driest subject, and the leanest, a feast for an epicure in books; one so much at his ease, too, that his own character appears in every page, and, which is very rare, not only the writer but the man; and the man so gentle, so well tempered, so happy in his religion, and so humane in his philosophy, that it is necessary to love him, if one has any sense of what is lovely."

The mind of Beattie is so exactly identified with his works, and is so undisguisedly depicted in them, that when his works are described, so also is his character. His whole life was spent in one continued series of virtuous duties. His piety was pure and fervent; his affection for his friends enthusiastic; his benevolence unwearied, and the whole course of his life irreproachable. The only fault which his biographer, Sir William Forbes, could find in the whole composition of his character, was one of a contingent and temporary nature: he became, towards the end of his life, a little irritable by continued application to metaphysical controversy.

Although his connections in early life had been of the humblest sort, yet he showed no awkwardness of behaviour in the most polished circles to which his eminent literary reputation afterwards introduced him. On the other hand, though, in the course of his frequent visits to England, he was caressed by the very highest personages in the realm, he never was in the least degree spoiled, but returned to his country with as humble and unassuming manners as he had carried away from it. To a very correct and refined taste in poetry, he added the rare accomplishment of an acquaintance to a considerable extent with both the sister arts of painting and music: his practice in drawing never went, indeed, beyond an occasional grotesque sketch of some friend, for the amusement of a social hour. In music he was more deeply skilled, being not only able to take part in private concerts on the violoncello, but capable of appreciating the music of the very highest masters for every other instrument. In his person, he was of the middle height, though not elegantly, yet not awkwardly formed, but with something of a slouch in his gait. His eyes were black and piercing, with an expression of sensibility somewhat bordering on melancholy, except when engaged in cheerful conversation, and social intercourse with his friends, when they were exceedingly animated. Such was "the Minstrel."

BELL, ANDREW, D.D., author of the "*Madras System of Education*," was born at St Andrews, in 1753, and educated at the university of that place. The circumstances of his early life, and even the date of his entering into holy orders, are not known; but it is stated that he was remarkable in youth for the exemplary manner in which he fulfilled every public and private duty. After having spent some time in America, we find him, in 1786, officiating as one of the ministers of St Mary's, at Madras, and one of the chaplains of Fort St George.

In that year, the Directors of the East India Company sent out orders to Madras, that a seminary should be established there, for the education and maintenance of the orphans and distressed male children of the European military. The proposed institution was at first limited to the support of a hundred orphans: half the expense was defrayed by the Company, and half by voluntary subscriptions; and the Madras Government appropriated Egmore Redoubt for the use of the establishment. The superintendence of this asylum was undertaken by Dr Bell, who, having no object in view but the gratification of his benevolence, refused the salary of 1200 pagodas (£480) which was attached to it. "Here," he reasoned with himself, "is a field for a clergyman, to animate his exertion, and encourage his diligence. Here his

success is certain, and will be in proportion to the ability he shall discover, the labour he shall bestow, and the means he shall employ. It is by instilling principles of religion and morality into the minds of the young, that he can best accomplish the ends of his ministry: it is by forming them to habits of diligence, industry, veracity, and honesty, and by instructing them in useful knowledge, that he can best promote their individual interest, and serve the state to which they belong,—two purposes which cannot, in sound policy, or even in reality, exist apart.”

With these feelings, and with this sense of duty, Dr Bell began his task. He had to work upon the most unpromising materials, but the difficulties he had to encounter led to that improvement in education with which his name is connected. Failing to retain the services of properly qualified ushers, he resorted to the expedient of conducting his school through the medium of the scholars themselves. It is in the mode of conducting a school by means of mutual instruction, that the discovery of Dr Bell consists; and its value, as an abbreviation of the mechanical part of teaching, and where large numbers were to be taught economically, could not be easily overestimated at the time, although later educationalists have improved upon the plan, and the Madras system is now less in use than formerly. The first new practice which Dr Bell introduced into his school, was that of teaching the letters, by making the pupils trace them in sand, as he had seen children do in a Malabar school. The next improvement was the practice of syllabic reading. The child, after he had learned to read and spell monosyllables, was not allowed to pronounce two syllables till he acquired by long practice a perfect precision. From the commencement of his experiment, he made the scholars, as far as possible, do everything for themselves: they ruled their own paper, made their own pens, &c., with the direction only of their teacher. The maxim of the school was, that no boy could do anything right the first time, but he must learn when he first set about it, by means of his teacher, so as to be able to do it himself ever afterwards. Every boy kept a register of the amount of work which he performed, so that his diligence at different times might be compared. There was also a black book, in which all offences were recorded: this was examined once a week; and Dr Bell's custom, in almost every case of ill-behaviour, was to make the boys themselves judges of the offender. He never had reason, he says, to think their decision impartial, biased, or unjust, or to interfere with their award, otherwise than to mitigate or remit the punishment, when he thought the formality of the trial, and of the sentence, was sufficient to produce the effect required. But the business of the teachers was to preclude punishment, by preventing faults; and so well was this object attained that for months together, it was not found necessary to inflict a single punishment.

An annual saving of not less than £960, upon the education and support of two hundred boys, was produced in the institution at Madras, by Dr Bell's regulations and improvements. This, however, he justly regarded as an incidental advantage; his grand aim was to redeem the children from the stigma under which they laboured, and the fatal effect which that stigma produced; and to render them good subjects, good men, and good Christians. After superintending the school for seven years, he found it necessary for his health, to return to Europe. The directors of the charity passed a resolution for providing him a passage in any ship which he might wish to sail in, declaring, at the same time, that, under “the wise and judicious regulations which he had established, the institution had been brought to a degree of perfection and promising utility, far exceeding what the most sanguine hopes could have suggested at the time of its establishment; and that he was entitled to their fullest approbation, for his zealous and disinterested conduct.” The language in which Dr Bell spoke of the institution on leaving it, will not be read without emotion, by those who are capable of appreciating what is truly excellent in human

nature. During seven years which he had devoted to this office, he had "seen the vices incident to the former situation of these orphans gradually vanishing, their morals and conduct approaching nearer and nearer every year to what he wished them to be, and the character of a race of children in a manner changed." "This numerous family," said he, "I have long regarded as my own. These children are, indeed, mine by a thousand ties! I have for them a parental affection, which has grown upon me every year. For them I have made such sacrifices as parents have not always occasion to make for their children; and the nearer the period approaches when I must separate myself from them, the more I feel the pang I shall suffer in tearing myself from this charge, and the anxious thoughts I shall throw back upon these children, when I shall cease to be their protector, their guide, and their instructor." Eleven years after he had left India, Dr Bell received a letter, signed by forty-four of these pupils, expressing, in the strongest terms, their gratitude for the instruction and care which he had bestowed upon them in childhood.

On his arrival in Europe, Dr Bell published, in 1797, a pamphlet, entitled "An Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum of Madras; suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself, under the superintendence of the Master or Parent." The first place in England where the system was adopted, was the charity school of St Botolph's, Aldgate. Dr Briggs, then of Kendal, the second who profited by Dr Bell's discovery, introduced it into the Kendal schools of industry. These occurrences took place in 1798. In 1801, the system was fully and successfully acted upon in the schools of the Society for bettering the condition of the poor.

In 1803, Mr Joseph Lancaster first appeared before the public. He published a pamphlet with the following title—"Improvements in Education, as it respects the Industrious Classes of the Community; containing a short Account of its Present State, Hints towards its Improvement, and a detail of some Practical Experiments conducive to that End." "The institution," he says, "which a benevolent Providence has been pleased to make me the happy instrument of bringing into usefulness, was begun in the year 1798. The intention was to afford the children of mechanics, &c., instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, at about half the usual price. The peculiarity of his plan seems to have consisted, chiefly, in introducing prizes and badges of merit, together with a mode of teaching spelling, which was said to economize time and trouble: he also called in the assistance of boys, as monitors. In his pamphlet of 1803, he freely accords to Bell the priority of the mutual system, acknowledging also that the published account of it had furnished him with several useful hints. Eventually, Mr Lancaster put forward a claim, obviously unfounded, to be considered the sole inventor of the system. One of his advertisements in the newspapers was thus introduced:—"Joseph Lancaster, of the Free School, Borough Road, London, having invented, under the blessing of Divine Providence, a new and mechanical system of education for the use of schools, feels anxious to disseminate the knowledge of its advantages through the united kingdom. By this system, paradoxical as it may appear, above 1000 children may be taught and governed by one master only." And on another occasion he writes:—"I stand forward before the public, at the bar of mankind, to the present, and for the future ages, avowing myself the inventor of the British or Royal Lancasterian System." (*Morning Post*, 4th September.) Again: "I submit the plan, original as it is, to the country. The same cannot be found in any other work, unless copied or pirated." (Preface to edition of 1808.)

But however unfounded Lancaster's claim to originality may be, there can be no doubt that, through his exertions chiefly, the system was extensively reduced to practice in England. Belonging to the sect of Quakers, a body whose exertions in the cause of philanthropy are universally known, he did not apply to them in vain for pecuniary

support and personal exertion. Lancasterian schools were rapidly established in all parts of the kingdom.

Dr Bell lived long enough to witness the introduction of his system into 12,973 national schools, educating 900,000 of the children of his English countrymen, and to know that it was employed extensively in almost every other civilized country. He acquired in later life the dignity of a prebendary of Westminster, and was master of Sherborn hospital, Durham. He was also a member of the Asiatic Society, and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He employed himself during his latter years in writing several works on education, among which the most valuable were, "The Elements of Tuition," "The English School," and a "Brief Manual of Mutual Instruction and Discipline." The evening of his pious and useful life was spent at Cheltenham, in the practice of every social and domestic virtue. Previously to his death he bestowed £120,000, three per cent. stock, for the purpose of founding an academy on an extensive and liberal scale in his native city. He also bequeathed a considerable sum for purposes of education in Edinburgh; which, however, to the everlasting disgrace of the individuals intrusted with the public affairs of that city at the time, was compromised among the general funds of that corporation, a few months before its bankruptcy.

Dr Bell died on the 27th of January, 1832, in the eightieth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London acting as chief mourners.

BELL, BENJAMIN, a distinguished surgical author, was born in Dumfries in 1749. He received an excellent classical education at the grammar-school of that town, under Dr Chapman, the rector. The property of Blackett House, in Dumfriesshire, having devolved to him on the death of his grandfather, he gave a remarkable instance of generosity by disposing of it, and applying the proceeds in educating himself and the younger branches of the family, fourteen in number.

Mr Bell had early made choice of medicine as a profession, and accordingly he was bound apprentice to Mr Hill, surgeon in Dumfries, whose practice was in that quarter very extensive. It was a distinguishing feature in Mr Bell's character, that whatever he had once engaged in was prosecuted with extreme ardour and assiduity. He therefore went through the drudgery and fatigue necessarily connected with the detail of a surgeon-apothecary's shop, with the greatest spirit. He, by degrees, materially assisted his master, by attending his patients; to whom his correct behaviour, unflinching good humour, and agreeable manners recommended him in the most powerful manner. He repaired to Edinburgh in 1766, entered himself as a member of the university, and set himself, with the most serious application, to the prosecution of his medical studies. The Edinburgh medical school had just sprung into notice, and was beginning to make very rapid strides to its present eminence. The first and second Monro had already given evident tokens of the most distinguished genius. The first had now relinquished, in favour of his equally skilful son, the business of the anatomical theatre, and only occasionally delivered clinical lectures in the infirmary. Mr Bell's ardour in the study of anatomy, in all its branches, was unabated. As he proposed to practise surgery, he was well aware that eminence in that department of the profession could only be arrived at by persevering industry. He was appointed house-surgeon to the royal infirmary, which afforded him every opportunity of improvement. It was here that he laid the foundation of that superior adroitness and dexterity which so peculiarly characterized him in the many hazardous but successful operations which he was called to perform.

Though Mr Bell was more particularly designed for the profession of a surgeon, there was no department of medicine neglected by him. Dr Black, whose discoveries formed a new era in the science of chemistry, had been removed from

Glasgow to Edinburgh during the year in which Mr Bell entered the university. His lectures and experiments proved generally attractive, and powerfully interested the mind of Mr Bell. Dr Cullen was professor of the Institutes of Medicine, and his original genius excited the greatest ardour amongst the students. The practice of medicine was taught by Dr John Gregory, and Botany by Dr John Hope. These were the professors whom Mr Bell attended, and it must be confessed, that they were men of distinguished talents, whose lectures no diligent student could listen to without deriving very great advantage.

Mr Bell had resolved, in 1770, to visit Paris and London, the two great schools for surgical practice. Before doing so, however, he passed the examinations at Surgeon's Hall, and was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh. In those great cities he remained nearly two years, assiduously improving himself in surgery. Returning to his native country in 1772, he commenced business in Edinburgh. Few came better prepared than he did for the practice of surgery. His education was liberal and extensive. His appearance was much in his favour. His address was good, his manner composed and sedate. Mr Bell had early formed the plan of composing a system of surgery—and this he at last accomplished. He did not publish the whole work at once; but in the year 1778, about six years after he had finally settled in Edinburgh, and become established in practice, the first volume was given to the world. The remaining volumes appeared from time to time until the work was completed in six volumes 8vo. in 1788. In 1788, appeared his "Treatise on Gonorrhœa," and in 1794, another "Treatise on Hydrocele," which is understood to be the least popular of his works.

Mr Bell married, in 1776, Miss Hamilton, daughter of Dr Robert Hamilton, professor of divinity in the University of Edinburgh, by whom he had a numerous family. He died, April 4, 1806.

BELL, HENRY, the first successful applier of steam to the purposes of navigation in Europe, was born at Torphichen in Linlithgowshire, April 7, 1767. He was sprung from a race of mechanics, being the fifth son of Patrick Bell and Margaret Easton, whose ancestors, through several descents, were alike well-known in the neighbourhood as ingenious mill-wrights and builders; some of them having also distinguished themselves in the erection of public works, such as harbours, bridges, &c., not only in Scotland, but also in the other divisions of the United Kingdom. Henry Bell, after receiving a plain education at the parish school, began, in 1780, to learn the handicraft of a stone-mason. Three years after, he changed his views in favour of the other craft of the family, and was apprenticed to his uncle, who practised the art of a mill-wright. At the termination of his engagement, he went to Borrowstounness, for the purpose of being instructed in ship-modelling, and, in 1787, he engaged with Mr James Inglis, engineer at Bell's Hill, with the view of completing his knowledge of mechanics. He afterwards went to London, where he was employed by the celebrated Mr Rennie; so that his opportunities of acquiring a practical acquaintance with the higher branches of his art, were altogether very considerable.

About the year 1790, Bell returned to Scotland, and it is said that he practised for several years, at Glasgow, the unambitious craft of a house-carpenter. He was entered October 20, 1797, as a member of the corporation of wrights in that city. It was his wish to become an undertaker of public works in Glasgow; but either from a deficiency of capital, or from want of steady application, he never succeeded to any extent in that walk. "The truth is," as we have been informed, "Bell had many of the features of the enthusiastic projector; never calculated means to ends, or looked much farther than the first stages or movements of any scheme. His mind was a chaos of extraordinary projects, the most of which, from his want of accurate

scientific calculation, he never could carry into practice. Owing to an imperfection in even his mechanical skill, he scarcely ever made one part of a model suit the rest, so that many designs, after a great deal of pains and expense, were successively abandoned. He was, in short, the hero of a thousand blunders and one success." It may easily be conceived that a mechanician open to this description could not succeed, to any great extent, as either a designer or executor of what are called public works. The idea of propelling vessels by means of steam early took possession of his mind. "In 1800 (he writes) I applied to Lord Melville, on purpose to show his lordship and the other members of the Admiralty, the practicability and great utility of applying steam to the propelling of vessels against winds and tides, and every obstruction on rivers and seas, where there was depth of water. After duly thinking over the plan, the lords of that great establishment were of opinion that the plan proposed would be of no value in promoting transmarine navigation." He repeated the attempt in 1803, with the same result, notwithstanding the emphatic declaration of the celebrated Lord Nelson, who, addressing their lordships on the occasion, said, "My Lords, if you do not adopt Mr Bell's scheme, other nations will, and in the end vex every vein of this empire. It will succeed (he added), and you should encourage Mr Bell." Having obtained no support in this country, Bell forwarded copies of the prospectus of his scheme to the different nations of Europe, and to the United States of America. "The Americans," he writes, "were the first who put my plan into practice, and were quickly followed by other nations." Mr Watt himself had no faith in the practicability of applying his own great discovery to the purpose of navigation. In a letter addressed to Mr Bell, he said, "How many noblemen, gentlemen, and engineers, have puzzled their brains, and spent their thousands of pounds, and none of all these, nor yourself, have been able to bring the power of steam, in navigation, to a successful issue." The various attempts which preceded that of Bell are briefly noticed in the following extract from the "Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Steam-Boats, June, 1822, Sir Henry Parnell, chairman." Mentioning the following as experimenters, namely, Mr Jonathan Hulls, in 1786; the Duke of Bridgewater, on the Manchester and Runcorn canal; Mr Miller of Dalswinton; the Marquis de Jouffroy (a French nobleman), in 1781; Lord Stanhope, in 1795; and Mr Symington, and Mr Taylor, on the Forth and Clyde canal, in 1801-2; the Report proceeds—"These ingenious men made valuable experiments, and tested well the mighty power of steam. Still no practical uses resulted from any of these attempts. It was not till the year 1807, when the Americans began to use steam-boats on their rivers, that their safety and utility was first proved. But the merit of constructing these boats is due to natives of Great Britain. Mr Henry Bell of Glasgow gave the first model of them to the late Mr Fulton of America, and corresponded regularly with Fulton on the subject. Mr Bell continued to turn his talents to the improving of steam apparatus, and its application to various manufactures about Glasgow; and in 1811, constructed the Comet steam-boat, the first of the kind in Europe, to navigate the Clyde, from Glasgow to Port-Glasgow, Greenock, Helensburgh, and Inverness." An interesting recollection of Mr Miller's experiments on Dalswinton lake has been preserved by Mr James Nasmyth, the eminent engineer, on the authority of his father, who was present on the occasion. "The parties in the boat on that memorable occasion," writes Mr Nasmyth to Mr D. O. Hill, the landscape painter, who has introduced the lake into his picture of the Valley of the Nith, "were Miller (of Dalswinton), Taylor (the engineer), Robert Burns (the poet), Henry Brougham (the future Lord Chancellor), and Alexander Nasmyth (the father of landscape painting in Scotland); a fit and worthy crew to celebrate so great an event. Many a

time (adds the writer) I have heard my father describe the delight which this first and successful essay at steam-navigation yielded the party in question. I only wish Burns had immortalized it in rhyme, for indeed it was a subject worthy of his muse."

In 1808, Bell removed to the modern village of Helensburgh, on the Firth of Clyde, where his wife undertook the superintendence of the public baths, and at the same time kept the principal inn, whilst he continued to prosecute his favourite scheme, without much regard to the ordinary affairs of the world. In 1812 he produced his steam-boat, the *Comet*, of 30 tons burthen, with an engine of three horse-power. The *Comet*, so called from the celebrated comet which appeared at that time, was built by Messrs John Wood and Co., at Port-Glasgow, and made her trial trip on the 18th of January, when she sailed from Glasgow to Greenock, making five miles an hour against a head-wind. In August of the same year we find Bell advertising the *Comet* to ply upon the Clyde three times a-week from Glasgow, "to sail by the power of air, wind, and steam." In September the voyage was extended to Oban and Fort-William, and was to be accomplished to and from the latter place in four days. Mr Bell lived to see his invention universally adopted. The Clyde, which first enjoyed the advantages of steam-navigation, became the principal seat of this description of ship-building; and, at the present time, Clyde-built steamers maintain their superiority in every port in the world. Steam-ships are now launched from the building-yards of Glasgow and Greenock of 2000 tonnage and 800 horse-power; and Clyde-built ships, with Glasgow engines, make the voyage betwixt Liverpool and New York in ten days. Steam-boat building and marine-engine-making received their first powerful impulse from the solution of the problem of ocean steam-navigation. From tables, constructed by Dr Strang from returns furnished to him by the various ship-builders and engineers in Glasgow, Dumbarton, Greenock, and Port-Glasgow, it appears that, during the seven years from 1846 to 1852, there were constructed at Glasgow and in its neighbourhood, 123 vessels, of which 1 was of wood, 122 of iron, 80 paddle, and 43 screw; consisting of 200 wooden tonnage; 70,441 iron tonnage; 6610 horse-power engines for wooden hulls, 22,539 horse-power engines for iron hulls, and 4720 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. During the same period there were constructed in Dumbarton, 58 vessels, all of iron, 20 being for paddles and 38 for screws, and having a tonnage of 29,761; and during the last three years of the same period 3616 horse-power engines were made there for iron hulls, and 200 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. During the same period, from 1846 to 1852, there were constructed at Greenock and Port-Glasgow, 66 steam-vessels, of which 13 were of wood, and 53 of iron, 41 paddle, and 25 screw; consisting of 18,131 wood tonnage, and 29,071 iron tonnage, 129 horse-power engines for wooden hulls, 5430 horse-power engines for iron hulls, and 4514 horse-power engines for vessels not built on the Clyde. For the whole ports in the Clyde, the steam-vessels built and the marine engines made, from 1846 to 1852, were as follows:—Number of steam vessels built —Wood hulls, 14; iron hulls, 233; in all, 247; of these 141 were paddles, and 106 screws. The tonnage of the wooden steamers amounts to 18,331, of the iron to 139,273. The engines' horse-power in wood hulls was 6739, the engines' horse-power in iron hulls was 31,598; while there was of engines' horse-power for vessels not constructed on the Clyde, 9434, making a grand total of 247 steamers, amounting to 147,604 tons, and of engines 47,766 horse-power. The steam communication which has, for several years, existed betwixt our West Indian and North American colonies and the mother country, has recently been extended to Australia and the Cape of Good Hope, thus uniting Great Britain to her most distant dependencies by new and powerful ties, and literally realizing the vivid description of George Can-

ning, who, dilating on the benefits of steam-navigation, several years before the death of Bell, described it as "that new and mighty power, new at least in the application of its might, which walks the water like a giant, rejoicing in its course, stemming alike the tempest and the tide—accelerating intercourse—shortening distances—creating, as it were, unexpected neighbourhoods, and new combinations of social and commercial relations, and giving to the fickleness of winds, and the faithlessness of waves, the certainty and steadiness of a highway upon the land." Whilst commerce and civilization were thus making rapid progress by means of his invention, Henry Bell reaped no personal advantage from it. He even approached the confines of old age in very straitened circumstances. Touched by his condition, the late Dr Cleland, and a number of other benevolent individuals, commenced a subscription on his behalf, by which a considerable sum was raised. The trustees on the river Clyde granted him an annuity of £100, which has been continued to his widow. This was but a becoming acknowledgment of the value of his great invention on the part of the trustees of a river whose annual revenue was increased, mainly by the impulse given to its trade by steam-navigation, from £6676 in 1810, the year before Bell commenced the construction of the Comet, to £20,296 in 1830, the year in which he died; and which has been more than tripled during the last twenty-two years, being, in 1852, £76,000. Within the same space of time, the channel of the river has undergone a corresponding improvement, being rendered navigable by ships of 700 and 800 tons burthen; whereas, little more than half a century ago, it was navigable only by coal gabbards and vessels of 30 to 45 tons. The average available depth of the Clyde at high water of neap-tides, is 16 feet, with an additional depth of two or three feet at spring-tides. At the Broomielaw, the harbour of Glasgow, there are now 10,000 lineal feet of quayage, giving accommodation to hundreds of the largest ships belonging to the mercantile marine of this and foreign countries. Mr Bell died at Helensburgh, March 14, 1830, aged sixty-three, and lies buried in the Row churchyard. An obelisk to his memory was erected on the rock of Dunglass, a promontory on the Clyde, about 2½ miles above Dumbarton.

BELL, JOHN, of Antermony, a traveller of the eighteenth century, was the son of Patrick Bell, the representative of that old and respectable family, and of Anabel Stirling, daughter of Mungo Stirling of Craigharnet. He was born in 1691, and, after receiving a classical education, turned his attention to the study of medicine. On passing as physician, he determined to visit foreign countries, but we shall insert this part of his history in Mr Bell's own words. "In my youth," says he, "I had a strong desire of seeing foreign parts; to satisfy which inclination, after having obtained, from some persons of worth, recommendatory letters to Dr Areskine, chief physician and privy counsellor to the Czar Peter the First, I embarked at London, in the month of July, 1714, on board the Prosperity of Ramsgate, Captain Emerson, for St Petersburg. On my arrival there, I was received by Dr Areskine in a very friendly manner, to whom I communicated my intentions of seeking an opportunity of visiting some parts of Asia, at least those parts which border on Russia. Such an opportunity soon presented itself, on occasion of an embassy then preparing, from his Czarish Majesty to the Sophy of Persia."—*Preface to his Travels*. The ambassador fortunately applied to Dr Areskine to recommend some one skilled in physic and surgery to go in his suite, and Mr Bell was soon afterwards engaged in the service of the Russian Emperor. He accordingly left St Petersburg on the 15th of July, 1715, and proceeded to Moscow, from thence to Casan, and down the Volga to Astracan. The embassy then sailed down the Caspian Sea to Derbend, and journeyed by Mougan, Tauris, and Saba, to Ispahan, where they arrived on the 14th of March,

1717. They left that city on the 1st of September, and returned to St Petersburg on the 30th of December, 1718, after having travelled across the country from Saratoff. On his arrival in the capital, Mr Bell found that his friend and patron Dr Areakine had died about six weeks before, but he had now secured the friendship of the ambassador, and upon hearing that an embassy to China was preparing he easily obtained an appointment in it through his influence. The account of his journey to Casan, and through Siberia to China, is by far the most complete and interesting part of his travels. His description of the manners, customs, and superstitions of the inhabitants, and of the Delay-lama and Chinese wall, deserve particularly to be noticed. They arrived at Pekin "after a tedious journey of exactly sixteen months." Mr Bell has left a very full account of occurrences during his residence in the capital of China. The embassy left that city on the 2nd of March, 1721, and arrived at Moscow on the 5th of January, 1722.

The war between Russia and Sweden was now concluded, and the Czar had determined to undertake an expedition into Persia, at the request of the Sophy, to assist that prince against the Affghans, his subjects, who had seized upon Kandahar, and possessed themselves of several provinces on the frontiers towards India. Mr Bell's former journey to Persia gave him peculiar advantages, and he was accordingly engaged to accompany the army to Derbent, from which he returned in December, 1722. Soon afterwards he revisited his native country, and returned to St Petersburg in 1734. In 1737, he was sent to Constantinople by the Russian Chancellor, and Mr Rondeau the British minister at the Russian court.¹ He seems now to have abandoned the public service, and to have settled at Constantinople as a merchant. About 1746, he married Mary Peters, a Russian lady, and determined to return to Scotland. He spent the latter part of his life on his estate, and in the enjoyment of the society of his friends. At length, after a long life spent in active beneficence, and exertions for the good of mankind, he died at Antermony on the 1st of July, 1780, at the advanced age of 89.

The only work written by Mr Bell is his "Travels from St Petersburg in Russia, to various parts of Asia," to which reference has already been made. It was printed in 2 volumes quarto by Robert and Andrew Foulis, in 1763, and published by subscription. "The history of this book," says the Quarterly Review, "is somewhat curious, and not generally known. For many years after Mr Bell returned from his travels, he used to amuse his friends with accounts of what he had seen, refreshing his recollection from a simple diary of occurrences and observations. The Earl Granville, then president of the council, on hearing some of his adventures, prevailed on him to throw his notes together into the form of a narrative, which, when done, pleased him so much that he sent the manuscript to Dr Robertson, with a particular request that he would revise and put it into a fit state for the press. The literary avocations of the Scottish historian at that time not allowing him to undertake the task, he recommended Mr Barron, a professor in the University of Aberdeen, and on this gentleman consulting Dr Robertson as to the style and the book of travels which he would recommend him to adopt for his guide, the historian replied, 'Take Gulliver's Travels for your model, and you cannot go wrong.' He did so, and 'Bell's Travels' have all the simplicity of Gulliver, with the advantage which truth always carries over fiction."²

BELL, JOHN, an eminent surgeon in Edinburgh, and of distinguished literary qualifications, was born in 1762. He was the second son of the Rev. William

¹ M'Ure's History of Glasgow, new edition, p. 115.

² Quarterly Review on M'Leod's Voyage in the Alceste, 1817, pp. 464-5.

Bell, a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church, established at Edinburgh. His mother was the daughter of Mr Morrice, also a member of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Mr John Bell, after receiving a liberal education, became the pupil of Mr Alexander Wood, surgeon, who was long celebrated in Edinburgh as a medical practitioner. From the first, Mr Bell devoted himself to his professional studies with that enthusiastic ardour so characteristic of genius, and almost always the precursor of distinction. After completing his professional education he travelled for a short time in Russia, and the north of Europe; and on his return commenced his professional duties by delivering lectures on Surgery and Midwifery. These lectures, which he delivered between the years 1786 and 1796, were very highly esteemed, and speedily brought him into practice as a consulting and operating surgeon. The increase of his private practice, indeed, rendered it necessary for him, in 1796, to discontinue his lectures, and from that time forward he devoted himself to his patients, and to the preparation of the several publications of which he was the author.

For upwards of twenty years Mr Bell may be said to have stood at the head of his profession in Edinburgh as an operator. Patients came to him from all quarters, both of Scotland and England, and even from the continent; and during that interval he performed some of the most delicate and difficult operations in surgery. Nor was his celebrity confined to Edinburgh. He was generally known both in this country and throughout the world, as one of the most distinguished men in his profession; and his works show that his reputation was well founded.

Early in 1816, he was thrown by a spirited horse; and appears never to have entirely recovered from the effects of the accident. In the autumn of that year he made an excursion, partly on account of his health, to London; thence he proceeded to Paris, and afterwards pursued his journey southwards, visiting the most distinguished cities of Italy. During his residence on the Continent, he was treated in the most flattering manner by the members of his own profession; and his countrymen, who, after the peace of 1815, had gone to the Continent in great numbers, gladly took his professional assistance. In Paris, Naples, and Rome in particular, his numerous patients occupied him perhaps too exclusively; for his health continued to decline, and he died at Rome, April 15, 1820, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

Mr Bell very early in life became impressed with a high notion of the advantage of combining general accomplishments with professional skill; he therefore spared no pains to qualify himself in every way to assume a favourable position in society. He was a good classical scholar, and so general a reader that there were few works of any note in literature, either ancient or modern, with which he was not familiar. This was remarkably shown in his library, in which there was hardly a volume on any subject which did not bear traces of having been carefully perused and noted by him. His practice was to make annotations on the margin as he read; and considering the engrossing nature of his professional labours, and the several works in which he was himself engaged, nothing is more extraordinary than the evidence which is still in existence of the extent and variety of his miscellaneous reading.

The information which he thus acquired was not lost upon him; he was polished and easy in his manners—his perception of the ludicrous was keen—and the *tact* with which he availed himself of his extensive reading and general knowledge of all the interesting topics of the day, will be long remembered by those who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. His conversational powers, indeed, were of the very highest order; and as he had great urbanity and kindness of manner, and was happily free from that affectation by which good talkers

are sometimes distinguished, there were few of his contemporaries whose society was more generally courted by the upper classes in Edinburgh; and none who were better fitted to adorn and enliven the circle in which he moved.

Mr Bell's notions of the dignity of his profession were very high; and no man perhaps ever discharged his professional duties with more disinterested humanity, and honourable independence. His generosity to those whose circumstances required pecuniary aid was well known, and his contempt for any thing approaching to what he thought mean or narrow minded, was boundless, and frequently expressed in no very measured terms. The warmth of his temper, however, involved him in several misunderstandings with his professional brethren; the most remarkable of which was that which brought him and the late Dr Gregory into collision. The question on which these two distinguished men took opposite sides, related to the right of the junior members of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, to perform operations in the Royal Infirmary. This dispute divided the medical men of Edinburgh towards the close of the last century; and Dr Gregory and Mr Bell wrote several volumes about it. But, although great wit and much happy sarcasm were displayed on both sides, it is impossible to look back to this dissension without feeling regret that two of the most eminent medical men of their day should have wasted their ingenuity and high talents in acrimonious and unprofitable controversy, on a topic of ephemeral interest and comparatively minor importance. Mr Bell's principal publication in this controversy was entitled, "Letters on Professional Character and Manners; on the education of a Surgeon, and the duties and qualifications of a Physician; addressed to James Gregory, M.D." Edinburgh, 1810. It is a large octavo volume, and is characterised by extraordinary acrimony.

In the fine arts, Mr Bell's taste was very correct. As a painter and draughtsman his talents were far above mediocrity; and the anatomical drawings by which his works are illustrated have been much admired. He was also a proficient in music, with more taste, however, than execution; and, as Mrs Bell was also a highly accomplished musician, his musical parties, although conducted on a scale of expense which his circumstances hardly warranted, assembled at his house the *élite* of Edinburgh society. He had no family, and his whole house was laid out for this species of display—a *foible* which those who were inclined to laugh at his expense, did not overlook; and which was to a certain extent censurable, since his income, although very large, was never equal to his expenditure.

Mr Bell's personal appearance was good. Although considerably under the middle size, he was exceedingly well proportioned, very active, and studiously elegant in his movements. His head was well formed, his features regular, his eyes keen and penetrating, and his whole expression intellectual and intelligent in no ordinary degree. He was also remarkable for the good taste which he exhibited in his dress; and was altogether a person whom even a stranger could not have passed without recognizing as no ordinary man.

The limits of this work do not admit of an analysis of Mr Bell's writings. The best is his treatise on "Gun-shot wounds," to enable him to prepare which, he passed some weeks amongst the wounded men of Lord Duncan's fleet, after the battle of Camperdown.

The following is a complete list of his professional works:—1. The Anatomy of the Human Body, vol. i. 8vo. 1793, containing the Bones, Muscles, and Joints; vol. ii. 1797, containing the Heart and Arteries; vol. iii. 1802, containing the Anatomy of the Brain, Description of the course of the nerves, and the Anatomy of the Eye and Ear; with plates by Charles Bell, third edition, 3 vols. 8vo. 1811. 2. Engravings of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints, illustrating

the first volume of the *Anatomy of the Human Body*, drawn and engraved by himself, royal 4to. 1794, third edition. 3. Engravings of the Arteries, illustrating the second volume of the *Anatomy of the Human Body*, royal 4to. 1801, third edition, 8vo. 1810. 4. *Discourses on the nature and cure of wounds*, 8vo. 1795; third edition, 1812. 5. *Answer for the Junior Members of the Royal College of Surgeons to the Memorial of Dr James Gregory, to the Managers of the Royal Infirmary*, 8vo. 1800. 6. *The Principles of Surgery*, 3 vols. 4to. 1801-1808. 7. *Letters on Professional Character, &c.* His *Observations on Italy* is a posthumous work, which was edited by his respected friend, the late Bishop Sandford of Edinburgh.

Mr Bell married Miss Congleton, daughter of Dr Congleton of Edinburgh. His eldest brother was the late Robert Bell, Advocate, Professor of Conveyancing to the Society of Writers to the Signet; author of the "*Scotch Law Dictionary*," and of several other works on the law of Scotland; who died in 1816. John Bell's immediately younger brothers were, the late George Joseph Bell, Advocate, Professor of the Law of Scotland in the University of Edinburgh, and author of "*Commentaries on the Law of Scotland*," a work of high authority; and the late Sir Charles Bell, F.R.S. of London, the distinguished anatomist and physiologist. It is rare to find so many members of the same family so favourably known to the public.

BELLENDEN, WILLIAM, more commonly known by his Latin name of Gulielmus Bellendenus, is one of those learned and ingenious Scotsmen of a former age, who are esteemed in the general literary world as an honour to their country, but with whom that country itself is scarcely at all acquainted. As there were many great but unrecorded heroes before Agamemnon, so may it be said that there have flourished, *out of Scotland*, many illustrious Scotsmen, whose names have not been celebrated in that country. It is time, however, that this should cease to be the case, at least in reference to William Bellenden, whose intellect appears to have been one of most extraordinary character, and whose intellectual efforts, if in a shape to command more extensive appreciation, would certainly be considered a great addition to those productions which reflect honour upon his native country.

William Bellenden was unquestionably a member of that family whose name has been variously spelled Ballenden, Ballantyn, and latterly Ballantyne, and which has produced several men eminent in Scottish literature. He lived in the reign of James VI., to whom he was *Magister Supplicum Libellorum*, or reader of private petitions, an office probably conferred upon him in consideration of his eminent learning. King James, whose many regal faults were redeemed in no small measure by his sincere love of literature, and his extensive patronage of literary men, provided Bellenden with the means of leading a life of studious retirement at the French capital, where he is said to have afterwards become Professor of Humanity, and an advocate in the parliament of Paris. As he is said to have enjoyed his office of professor in 1602, it would of course appear that James had furnished the necessary allowances for the retirement of his learned protegee out of the slender revenues which he enjoyed in his native kingdom; a circumstance which enhances the praise due to him for his munificence in a very high degree.

Bellenden's first work, entitled, "*Ciceronis Princeps*," and published, apparently without his name, in 1608, is a treatise on the duties of a prince, formed out of passages of the works of Cicero referring to that subject. In this work, "he shows that, whoever desires to exercise authority over others, should first of all learn the government of himself; should remember and be obedient to every thing which the laws command; should on all occasions be ready to hear the

sentiments of the wise; disdaining whatever bears affinity to corruption, and abhorring the delusions of flattery: he should be tenacious in preserving his dignity, and cautious how he attempts to extend it; he should be remarkable for the purity of his morals, and the moderation of his conduct, and never direct his hand, his eye, or his imagination, to that which is the property of another.¹ To the "*Ciceronis Princeps*," in which Bellenden has only the merit of an ingenious collector, was prefixed an original essay, styled, "*Tractatus de Processu et Scriptoris Rei Politicæ*," in which there is a rich vein of masculine sense and fervent piety, while the origin of our errors in religion, and of our defects in policy and learning, is traced out with considerable accuracy and erudition. In this treatise, the author, while he condemns the monstrous tenets of ancient idolatry, and the gross corruptions of philosophy, bestows many just encomiums on the wisdom and patriotism of some ancient legislators. He informs us that among the Greek theorists, there is no systematic work on the science of politics, at once comprehensive in its principles, and applicable to real life; but acknowledges that much useful information may be gathered from the writings of Xenophon, and the fragments of Solon, Charondas, and Zaleucus. On the authority of Cicero, he represents Demetrius Phalereus as the first person who united the practice of politics with a correct and profound knowledge of his art. He allows, however, great merit to Plato, to Aristotle, to Theophrastus, and other imitators of Hippodamus, who, it seems, was the first writer on the subject of government, without being personally concerned in the administration of it. He then speaks with becoming and warm admiration of Cicero, and enumerates the political works of that writer which have come down to us—those which were written by him, but are now lost—and those which he intended to draw up at the request of Atticus.

Bellenden next published a treatise, formed like the foregoing from detached passages in Cicero, regarding the duties of the consul, senator, and senate among the Romans. It was entitled, "*Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Populusque Romanus: illustratus publici observatione juris, gravissimi usus disciplinâ, administrandi temperata ratione: notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et actis rerum in Senatu: quæ a Ciceroniana nondum edita profluxere memoria, annorum dccx. congesta in libros xvi. De statu rerum Romanorum unde jam manavit Ciceronis Princeps, dignus habitus suamorem lectione principum.*" Bellenden has here shown, not only the duties of a senator, or statesman, but upon what basis the rights of a free but jealous people are erected, and the hallowed care those institutions demand, which have descended to us from our ancestors. This work was published at Paris, in 1612, and like the former, was dedicated to Henry, Prince of Wales. On the title page, the author is termed "*Magister Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britannicæ*;" from which it would appear that either there is a mistake in describing him as Master of Requests to the King of Scotland, or he must have been subsequently preferred to the same office for Great Britain. The office, since he resided at Paris, must have been a sinecure, and was probably given to him as a means of sustaining him in literary leisure.

The next work of Bellenden was entitled, "*De Statu Prisci Orbis, in Religione, Re Politica, et Literis, liber unus.*" It was printed, but may scarcely be described as published, in 1615. This is the most original of Bellenden's works. The expressions and sentiments are all his own, excepting the quotations which he takes occasion to introduce from his favourite Cicero. In this work he has "brought to light, from the most remote antiquity, many facts which had been buried in oblivion. Whatever relates to the discipline of the Persians and Egyptians, which was obscure in itself, and very variously dispersed, he has care-

¹ Parr's Preface to Bellendenus.

fully collected, placed in one uniform point of view, and polished with diligent acuteness. In a manner the most plain and satisfactory, he has described the first origin of states, their progressive political advances, and how they differed from each other. Those fabulous inventions with which Greece has encumbered history, he explains and refutes. Philosophy owes him much. He has confuted all those systems which were wild and extravagant, and removed the difficulties from such as were in their operation subservient to religious piety. But he has in particular confirmed and dignified with every assistance of solid argument, whatever tended to serve the great truths of revelation. Much, however, as he has been involved in the gloom of ancient times, he in no one instance assumes the character of a cold unfeeling antiquary; he never employs his talents upon those intricate and useless questions in endeavouring to explain which many luckless and idle theologians torment themselves and lose their labour. The style of Bellendenus, in this performance, is perspicuous, and elegant without affectation. The different parts of the work are so well and so judiciously disposed, that we meet with nothing harsh and dissonant, no awkward interval or interruption, nothing placed where it ought not to remain."²

All these three works—namely, the "Princeps," the "Consul," and the "De Statu Prisci Orbis," were republished in 1616, in a united form, under the general title, "*De Statu, Libri Tres.*" Prince Henry being now dead, the whole work was dedicated anew to his surviving brother Charles; a circumstance which afforded the author an opportunity of paying an ingenious compliment to the latter prince:

— Uno avulso non deficit alter,
Aureus, et simili frondescit virga metallo.

Of the justness of this eulogy the politician may have some doubt, but the man of feeling will be captivated by its elegance and pathos.

The last work which Bellenden himself published is of very small extent, consisting merely of two short poems: "*Caroli Primi et Henricæ Mariæ, Regis et Reginae Magnæ Britanniaë, &c. Epithalamium; et in ipsas augustissimas nuptias, Panegyricum Carmen et Elogia.*" Paris, 1675, 4to. It would appear that Bellenden did not soon forget the kind patronage which he had experienced from King James, but transferred his gratitude, with his loyalty, to the descendants of that prince. This is the only known specimen of Bellenden's efforts in poetry.

The "*De Statu, Libri Tres,*" which perhaps were never very extensively diffused, had latterly become so extremely scarce, as only to be known by name to the most of scholars. From this obscurity, the work was rescued in 1787, by Dr Samuel Parr, the most eminent British Latinist of modern times. Dr Parr republished it in an elegant form, with a preface, which, though embracing a singular jumble of subjects, and not free from the charge of pedantry, is justly looked upon as one of the most admirable specimens of modern Latin which we possess. Imitating the example of Bellendenus, who prefixed a dedication to each of his three books, the learned editor inscribed them anew to three great men of modern times, Edward Burke, Lord North, and Charles James Fox, who were then the leaders of his own party in British politics. In the preface, he introduced a high allegorical eulogy upon these statesmen, which was admired as a singularly nervous piece of composition, though there were, of course, different opinions as to the justness of the panegyric. He also exposed the plagiarism which Middleton, in composing his "*Life of Cicero,*" had committed upon the splendid stores of Bellenden.

While Bellenden was employed in writing his tripartite work, "*De Statu,*" he

* Parr's Preface 2 D

had Cicero constantly before him. "His warmest attachment, and increasing admiration," to quote the words of Dr Parr, "were necessarily attracted to the character whose writings were the object of his unremitting attention; whose expressions were as familiar to him as possible; and whose various and profound learning occupied all the faculties of his soul." He now commenced a still more extensive and laborious cento of the writings of the Roman orator, which he concluded in sixteen books, and which, with the addition of similar centoes of the writings of Seneca and Pliny the Elder, was to bear the name, "*De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*." The Ciceronian cento, the only one he lived to complete, is justly considered a most extraordinary performance. By an exertion of fictitious machinery, akin to the modern historical romance, Cicero is introduced as if he had spoken or written the whole from beginning to end. The first seven books give a very concise abstract of the Roman history, from the foundation of the city, to the 647th year, in which he was born. Then he becomes more particular in the account of his own times, and enlarges very fully on all that happened after his first appearance in public business. He gives an account of the most remarkable of his orations and epistles, and the occasions on which they were written, as also of such of his philosophical works as have come down to us, and of some other pieces that are now lost, ending with a letter he is supposed to have written to Octavianus, afterwards named Augustus, which letter, however, is supposed to be spurious. There cannot be a more complete history of the life of Cicero, or of the tumultuous times in which he lived, than this work, all of which, by an exquisite ingenuity, is so faithfully compiled from the known works of the orator, that probably there is not in the whole book a single expression, perhaps not a single word, which is not to be found in that great storehouse of philosophical eloquence. Nor is there any incoherence or awkwardness in this re-arrangement of Cicero's language; but, on the contrary, the matter flows as gracefully as in the original. "Whatever we find," says Parr, in the different writings of Cicero, elegantly expressed, or acutely conceived, Bellendenus has not only collected in one view, but elucidated in the clearest manner. He, therefore, who peruses this performance with the attention which it merits, will possess all the treasures of antiquity, all the energy of the mightiest examples. He will obtain an adequate knowledge of the Roman law, and system of jurisprudence, and may draw, as from an inexhaustible source, an abundance of expressions, the most exquisite in their kind." In the opinion of another critic,¹ it is inconceivable that Bellenden could have composed this singular work, without having the whole of the writings of Cicero, and all the collateral authorities, in his mind at once, as it must have been quite impossible to perform such a task by turning over the leaves of the books, in order to find the different expressions suited to the various occasions where they were required.

After the death of Bellenden, the date of which is only known to have been posterior to 1625, the manuscript of his great work fell into the hands of one Toussaint du Bray, who printed it at Paris in 1631, or 1634, and dedicated it to King Charles I. of Great Britain. It is alleged that the principal part of the impression, about a thousand copies, was shipped for sale in Britain, and was lost on the passage, so that only a few copies survived. The work therefore fell at once into obscurity, and in a few years was scarcely known to exist. One copy having found its way to the Cambridge University Library, fell into the hands of Conyers Middleton, the keeper of that institution, who seems to have adopted the idea of making it the ground-work for a Life of Cicero under his own name. Hence has arisen one of the most monstrous instances of literary

¹ The late Earl of Buchan, who had the extraordinary fortune to possess a copy of this rare book.

plagium which modern times have witnessed. The work of Middleton at once attained to great reputation, and chiefly through that skilful arrangement of the writings of the orator himself, which Bellenden had provided to his hands. The theft was first denounced by Warton, and subsequently made clear by Dr Parr, in his preface to the "De Statu." As the latter gentleman was prepossessed in favour of both the literary and political character of Middleton, the terms in which he speaks of the theft are entitled to the more weight. He commences his exposure in the following strain of tender apology, which we quote in the original, on account of its extraordinary beauty; for we know not that even the writings of Tully exhibit periods more harmonious, or that the human ear has hitherto been gratified with a more enchanting sweetness of language:

"*Litteræ fuerunt Middletono, non vulgares hæc et quotidianæ, sed uberrimæ et maxime exquisitæ. Fuit judicium subtile limatumque. Teretes et religiosæ fuerunt aures. Stylus est ejus ita purus ac suavis, ita salebris sine ullis profuens quiddam et canorum habet, numeros ut videatur complecti, quales in alio quopiam, præter Addisonum, frustra quæsieris. Animum fuisse ejusdem parum candidum ac sincerum, id vero, fateor invitæ, dolens, coactus.*"

"Middleton was a man of no common attainments; his learning was elegant and profound, his judgment acute and polished; he had a fine and correct taste; and his style was so pure and so harmonious, so vigorously flowing without being inflated, that, Addison alone excepted, he seems to be without a rival. As to his mind, I am compelled with grief and reluctance to confess, it was neither ingenuous nor faithful.

"Of the faith of any man, in matters of religion,¹ I presume not to speak with asperity or anger: yet I am vehemently displeased that a man possessed of an elegant and enlightened mind, should deprive Bellenden of the fame he merited. For I assert, in the most unqualified terms, that Middleton is not only indebted to Bellenden for many useful and splendid materials, but that, wherever it answered his purpose, he has made a mere transcript of his work. He resided at Cambridge, where he possessed all the advantages which that university and all its valuable libraries afford, to make collections for his undertaking. Yet did the man who proposed a system for the regulation of a university library, possess the writings of Bellenden, anticipating all that he professed to accomplish. I cannot deny but that he makes some allusion to this particular work of Bellendenus in his preface, although in a very dark and mysterious manner; particularly where he speaks of the history of those times, which, whoever wishes to understand minutely, has only to peruse Cicero's Epistles with attention; of the tediousness of being obliged to peruse Cicero's works two or three times over; of the care and trouble of consorting for future use various passages scattered through the different volumes; and, above all, of the very words of Cicero, which give a lustre and authority to a sentiment, when woven originally into the text.

"To conclude the whole—whatever Middleton ostentatiously declares it to be his wish and his duty to do, had been already done to his hands, faithfully and skilfully by Bellendenus, from the beginning to the end of the work!"

It is impossible to dismiss the life and singular writings of William Bellenden, without a passing expression of regret, that so much ingenuity, so much learning, so much labour, may be expended, without producing even the remuneration of a *name*—for Bellenden, to use a phrase of Buchanan, is a *light* rather than a *name*. His last work extended to 824 pages in folio, and he contemplated other two of similar size, and equal labour. Yet all this was so futile, that the very

¹ Middleton was a free-thinker.

next generation of his own countrymen do not appear to have known that such a man ever existed. Even after all the care of bibliographers and others, which has searched out the few facts embraced by this imperfect narrative, the name of Bellenden is only known in connexion with certain works, which are, it is true, *reputed* to be admirable of their kind, but, for every practical purpose, are almost as entirely lost to the world at large, as those *libri periti* of Cicero, which he has himself alluded to with so much regret. Nor can Bellenden be described as a man defrauded by circumstances of that fame which forms at once the best motive and the best reward of literature. He must have written with but very slender hopes of reputation through the medium of the press. It thus becomes a curious subject of speculation, that so much pains should have been bestowed where there was so little prospect of its reflecting credit or profit upon the labourer. And yet this seems to be rather in consequence of, than in defiance to the want of such temptation. The works of the ancient classics, written when there was no vehicle but manuscripts for their circulation, and a very small circle in which they could be appreciated, are, of all literary performances, the most carefully elaborated: those of the age when printing was in its infancy, such as the works of Bellenden and other great Latinists, are only a degree inferior in accuracy and finish; while these latter times, so remarkable for the facility with which the works of men of genius are diffused, have produced hardly a single work, which can be pointed to as a perfect specimen of careful workmanship and faultless taste. There is something not ungratifying in this reflection; it seems to atone to the great memories of the past, for the imperfect rewards which they enjoyed in life or in fame. If we could suppose that the lofty spirits who once brightened the lustre of knowledge and literature, and died without any contemporary praise, still look down from their spheres upon the present world, it would gratify the moral faculties to think of the pleasure which they must have, in contemplating their half-forgotten but unsurpassed labours, and in knowing that men yet look back to them as the giants of old who have left no descendants in the land. Thus even the aspirate "name" of Bellenden, which almost seems as if it had never had a mortal man attached to it, might reap a shadowy joy from the present humble effort to render it the justice which has been so long withheld.

BERNARD, made abbot of Aberbrothick in 1303, and the first chancellor of king Robert Bruce after his assumption of the crown in 1306, deserves a place in this work, as the supposed writer of that spirited remonstrance which the Scottish nobility and barons transmitted, in 1318, to the Roman pontiff, asserting the independency of their country. He held the great seal till his death in 1337. Crawford supposes that his surname was Linton.

BERRY, WILLIAM, an ingenious artist, was born about the year 1730, and bred to the business of a seal-engraver. After serving an apprenticeship under a Mr Proctor at Edinburgh, he commenced business for himself in that city, and soon became distinguished for the elegance of his designs, and the clearness and sharpness of his mode of cutting. At this time the business of a stone-engraver in the Scottish capital was confined to the cutting of ordinary seals, and the most elaborate work of this kind which they undertook, was that of engraving the armorial bearings of the nobility. Mr Berry's views were for several years confined to this common drudgery of his art; but, by studying some ancient entaglies, he at length conceived the design of venturing into that higher walk, which might be said to bear the same relation to seal-engraving, which historical painting does to portrait-painting. The subject he chose for his first essay was a head of Sir Isaac Newton, which he executed with such precision and delicacy, as astonished all who had an opportunity of observing it. The modesty of Mr

Berry permitted him to consign this gem to the hands of a friend in a retired situation of life, who had few opportunities of showing it to others. He resumed his wonted drudgery, satisfied, we may suppose, with that secret consciousness of triumphant exertion, which, to some abstracted minds, is not to be increased, but rather spoilt, by the applause of the uninitiated multitude. For many years this ingenious man "narrowed his mind" to the cutting of heraldic seals, while in reality, he must have known that his genius fitted him for a competition with the highest triumphs of Italian art. When he was occasionally asked to undertake somewhat finer work, he generally found that, though he only demanded perhaps half the money which he could have earned in humbler work during the same space of time, yet even that was grudged by his employers; and he therefore found that mere considerations of worldly prudence demanded his almost exclusive attention to the ordinary walk of his profession.

Nevertheless, in the course of a few years, the impulse of genius so far overcame his scruples, that he executed various heads, any one of which would have been sufficient to ensure him fame among judges of excellence in this department of art. Among these were heads of Thomson, author of "the Seasons," Mary Queen of Scots, Oliver Cromwell, Julius Cæsar, a young Hercules, and Mr Hamilton of Bangour, the well-known poet. Of these only two were copies from the antique; and they were executed in the finest style of those celebrated entaglias. The young Hercules, in particular, possessed an unaffected plain simplicity, a union of youthful innocence with strength and dignity, which struck every beholder as most appropriate to that mythological personage, while it was, at the same time, the most difficult of all expressions to be hit off by the faithful imitator of nature. As an actor finds it much less difficult to imitate any extravagant violence of character, than to represent, with truth and perspicuity, the elegant ease of the gentleman; so the painter can much more easily delineate the most violent contortions of countenance, than that placid serenity, to express which requires a nice discrimination of such infinitely small degrees of variation in certain lineaments, as totally elude the observation of men, on whose minds nature has not impressed, with her irresistible hand, that exquisite perceptive faculty, which constitutes the essence of genius in the fine arts.

Berry possessed this perceptive faculty to a degree which almost proved an obstruction, rather than a help, in his professional career. In his best performances, he himself remarked defects which no one else perceived, and which he believed might have been overcome by greater exertion, if for that greater exertion he could have spared the necessary time. Thus, while others applauded his entaglias, he looked upon them with a morbid feeling of vexation, arising from the sense of that struggle which his immediate personal wants constantly maintained with the nobler impulses of art, and to which his situation in the world promised no speedy cessation. This gave him an aversion to the higher department of his art, which, though indulged to his own temporary comfort, and the advantage of his family, was most unfortunate for the world.

In spite of every disadvantage, the works of Mr Berry, few as they were in number, became gradually known in society at large; and some of his pieces were even brought into competition, by some distinguished cognoscenti, with those of Piccler at Rome, who had hitherto been the unapproached sovereign of this department of the arts. Although the experience of Piccler was that of a constant practitioner, while Mr Berry had only attempted a few pieces at long intervals in the course of a laborious life; although the former lived in a country where every artificial object was attuned to the principles of art, while Mr Berry was reared in a soil remarkable for the absence of all such advantages; the latter was by many good judges placed above his Italian contemporary. The re-

spective works of the two artists were well known to each other; and each declared, with that manly ingenuousness, which very high genius alone can confer on the human mind, that the other was greatly his superior.

Mr Berry possessed not merely the art of imitating busts or figures set before him, in which he could observe and copy the prominence or depression of the parts; but he possessed a faculty which presupposes a much nicer discrimination; that of being able to execute a figure in *relievo*, with perfect justness in all its parts, which was copied from a painting or drawing upon a flat surface. This was fairly put to the test in the head he executed of Hamilton of Bangour, That gentleman had been dead several years, when his relations wished to have a head of him executed by Berry. The artist had himself never seen Mr Hamilton, and there remained no picture of him but an imperfect sketch, which was by no means a striking likeness. This was put into the hands of Mr Berry, by a person who had known the deceased poet, and who pointed out the defects of the resemblance in the best way that words can be made to correct things of this nature; and from this picture, with the ideas that Mr Berry had imbibed from the corrections, he made a head, which every one who knew Mr Hamilton, allowed to be one of the most perfect likenesses that could be wished for. In this, as in all his works, there was a correctness in the outline, and a truth and delicacy in the expression of the features, highly emulous of the best antiques; which were, indeed, the models on which he formed his taste.

The whole number of heads executed by Mr Berry did not exceed a dozen; but, besides these, he executed some full-length figures of both men and animals, in his customary style of elegance. That attention, however, to the interests of a numerous family, which a man of sound principles, as Mr Berry was, could never allow himself to lose sight of, made him forego those agreeable exertions, for the more lucrative, though less pleasing employment, of cutting heraldic seals, which may be said to have been his constant employment from morning to night, for forty years together, with an assiduity that almost surpasses belief. In this department, he was, without dispute, the first artist of his time; but even here, that modesty which was so peculiarly his own, and that invariable desire of giving perfection to every thing he put out of his hand, prevented him from drawing such emoluments from his labours as they deserved. Of this the following anecdote will serve as an illustration, and as an additional testimony of his very great skill. Henry, Duke of Buccleuch, on succeeding to his title and estates, was desirous of having a seal cut, with his arms properly blazoned upon it. But, as there were no fewer than thirty-two compartments in the shield, which was of necessity confined to a very small space, so as to leave room for the supporters and other ornaments, within the compass of a seal of ordinary size, he found it a matter of great difficulty to get it executed. Though a native of Scotland himself, the noble Duke had no idea that there was a man of first-rate eminence in this art in Edinburgh; and accordingly he had applied to the best seal-engravers in London and Paris, all of whom declared it to be beyond their power. At this time, Berry was mentioned to him, with such powerful recommendations, that he was induced to pay him a visit, and found him, as usual, seated at his wheel. The gentleman who had mentioned Mr Berry's name to the Duke, accompanied him on his visit. This person, without introducing the Duke, showed Mr Berry the impression of a seal which the Duchess-dowager had got cut a good many years before by a Jew in London, now dead, and which had been shewn to others as a pattern; asking him if he would cut a seal the same as that. After examining it a little, Mr Berry answered readily, that he would. The Duke, at once pleased and astonished, exclaimed, "Will you, indeed?" Mr Berry, who thought that this implied some doubt of his ability to perform

what he undertook, was a little piqued, and turning round to the Duke, whom he had never before seen, he said, "Yes, Sir; if I do not make a better seal than this, I will charge no payment for it." The Duke, highly pleased, left the pattern with Mr Berry, and went away. The original contained, indeed, the various devices of the thirty-two compartments distinctly enough to be seen; but none of the colours were expressed. Mr Berry, in proper time, finished the seal; on which the figures were not only done with superior elegance, but the colours on every part so distinctly marked that a painter could delineate the whole, or a herald blazon it, with perfect accuracy. For this extraordinary and most ingenious labour, he charged no more than thirty-two guineas, though the pattern seal had cost seventy-five. Thus it was, that, though possessed of talents unequalled in their kind, at least in Britain, and assiduity not to be surpassed,—observing at the same time the strictest economy in his domestic arrangements—Mr Berry died at last, in circumstances far from affluent, June 3d, 1783, in the fifty-third year of his age, leaving a numerous family of children. It had been the lot of this ingenious man, to toil unceasingly for a whole life, without obtaining any other reward than the common boon of mere subsistence, while his abilities, in another sphere, or in an age more qualified to appreciate and employ them, might have enabled him to attain at once to fame and fortune in a very few years. His art, it may be remarked, has made no particular progress in Scotland, in consequence of his example. The genius of Berry was solitary, both in respect of place and time, and has never been rivalled by any other of his countrymen. It must be recorded, to the honour of this unrequited genius, that his character in private life was as amiable and unassuming as his talents were great; and that his conduct on all occasions was ruled by the strictest principles of honour and integrity.

BINNING, HUGH, an extraordinary instance of precocious learning and genius, was the son of John Binning of Dalvennan, a landed gentleman of Ayrshire. He appears to have been born about the year 1627. In his earliest years he outstripped all his seniors in the acquisition of Latin. At Glasgow college, which he entered in his fourteenth year, he distinguished himself very highly in philosophy. What was to others only gained by hard study, seemed to be intuitively known by Binning. After taking the degree of Master of Arts, he began to study for the church. When Mr James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair, vacated the chair of philosophy at Glasgow, Binning, though not yet nineteen, stood a competitor with some men of graver years and very respectable acquirements, and gained the object of his ambition by the pure force of merit. Though unprepared for entering upon his duties, no deficiency was remarked. He was one of the first in Scotland to reform philosophy from the barbarous jargon of the schools. While fulfilling the duties of his chair in the most satisfactory manner, he continued his study of theology, and a vacancy occurring in the church of Govan, near Glasgow, he received a call to be its minister. Here he married Barbara Simpson, the daughter of a presbyterian clergyman in Ireland. As a preacher, Mr Binning's fame was very great: his knowledge was extensive, and there was a fervour in his eloquence which bore away the hearts of his congregation, as it were, to heaven. At the division of the church into Resolutioners and Protesters, he took the latter and more zealous side, but yet was too full of virtuous and benevolent feeling to be a violent partizan. In order to heal the difference as much as possible, he wrote a treatise on Christian love. When Oliver Cromwell came to Glasgow, he caused a dispute to be held between his own independent clergymen, and the Scottish presbyterian ministers. Binning having nonplussed his opponents, Cromwell asked the name of "that bold young man." On being told that he was called Mr Hugh Binning, the sectarian gene-

ral said, "He hath bound well, indeed, but" (clapping his hand upon his sword,) "this will loose all again." This excellent young preacher died of consumption, 1653, in his twenty-sixth year, leaving behind him a reputation for piety, virtue, and learning, such as has rarely been attained by any individual under that age. Besides his treatise on Christian love, he wrote many miscellaneous pieces, of a pious nature, which were published, in 1733, in one volume quarto. A selection from these, under the title of "*Evangelical Beauties of Hugh Binning*," appeared in 1829, with a memoir of the author by the Rev John Brown of Whitburn.

BISSAT, or BISSART, *PETER*, professor of the Canon Law in the University of Bononia, was born in Fife in the reign of James V., being a descendant of Thomas Bissat, or Bissart, who was Earl of Fife in the reign of David II. He received instructions in grammar, philosophy, and the laws, at the University of St Andrews, and afterwards perfected his education at that of Paris. Having then travelled into Italy, he was honoured by the University of Bononia with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and shortly after became professor of the Canon Law in that seminary, in which situation he continued for several years, "with great applause."

Bissat appears to have been a man of general accomplishment—a poet, an orator, and a philosopher; but his forte lay in the Canon Law. His various writings were published at Venice in 1565, in quarto, under the title, "*Patricii Bissarti Opera Omnia, viz. Poemata, Orationes, Lectiones FERIALES, et Liber de Irregularitate*." The last of these compositions was a commentary on that part of the Canon Law which gives the reasons assigned by the Church of Rome for excluding certain laymen from the clergy.¹ Bissat died in the latter part of the year 1568.

BISSET, *CHARLES*, an ingenious physician and writer on Fortification, was born at Glenalbert, near Dunkeld, in the year 1717. It is alone known, regarding his parentage, that his father was a lawyer of some eminence, and a distinguished Latinist. After a course of medical studies at Edinburgh, he was appointed, in 1740, second surgeon of the Military Hospital in Jamaica, and spent several years in the West India Islands, and in Admiral Vernon's fleet, in

¹ Of these, as detailed by Bissat, an abstract may be interesting to the British reader, now happily so little familiar with the systems of the Catholic Church. The primitive Christians, in admitting the clergy, observed exactly the rules laid down by St Paul in the first epistle to Timothy. Yet sometimes, as we learn from St Cyprian, at the pressing instance of the people, persons of noted merit, who refused through humility, were compelled to enter. By the canons, however, a man required to be a deacon before he could be a priest, and a priest before he could be a bishop. It was a general principle of the church, that the clergy should be chosen from the most holy of the laity, and, therefore, all liable to any reproach in their lives and conversations, were excluded. Agreeably to this principle, which agreed with the injunction of St Paul, that they should be blameless and without reproach, the first council of Nice excluded all those, specifically, who, after baptism, had been guilty of any sort of crime, such as heresy, homicide, or adultery; nor was penance any palliative, seeing that the memory of the offence always remained; while it was to be expected that those whose lives were without stain should be preferred to those who had fallen. Thus all persons who had performed penance were excluded. These also were deemed *irregular*, and not entitled to admittance, who had killed any person, by accident or in self-defence, or who had borne arms even in a just war; who had twice married, or married a widow; or who engaged much in worldly affairs; all of which circumstances were held as derogating in some degree from the necessary purity of the individual. The only other moral disqualification was ignorance: the physical disqualifications were almost equally numerous. All deaf, dumb, or blind persons were excluded, as unable to perform their functions in a proper manner. All persons who were lame, or had any deformity calculated to create an aversion in the people, were declared unfit for orders. Madness and self-mutilation were disqualifications. All persons born out of wedlock were excluded, because, however innocent the individual in his own person, the associations which the sight of them was calculated to awaken, were not favourable to virtue. Slaves, servants, children, and monastic clergy without the consent of their superiors, were excluded.

order to become acquainted with the diseases of the torrid zone. The physician who studies new and local forms of disease, with their symptoms, and natural and accidental terminations, whatever may be his success as a medical practitioner, may justly be said to perform good service to his kind. His observations are not of less value than those of the cautious and expert navigator, who searches and describes shores hitherto unknown. But, while thus seeking to avert disease from others, Dr Bisset became himself liable to its ravages. Having, in 1745, contracted ill health at Greenwich in Jamaica, he was under the necessity of resigning his situation as second surgeon, in order to return to Britain. In May, 1746, he purchased an ensigncy in the 42nd (Highland) regiment, so well known for a long train of military glories, and which was then commanded by Lord John Murray. By this transition, his attention was turned from the medical to the military profession, and fortification became his favourite study. After a fruitless descent on the coast of Brittany in September, 1748, and passing a winter at Limerick in Ireland, the regiment was, in the beginning of next campaign, brought into action at Sandberg, near Hulst, in Dutch Flanders, where one Dutch and two English regiments suffered very severely. Here Dr Bisset employed himself in drawing a sketch of the enemy's approaches, and some time after, in another of Bergen-op-Zoom, with the permanent lines, the environs, and the enemy's first parallel; which were presented by his colonel to the Duke of Cumberland, the commander-in-chief. The Duke was so much pleased with these specimens of Dr Bisset's military knowledge, that he ordered him to attend the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, and give due attention daily to the progress of both the attack and the defence, in order to form a journal of the whole proceedings. This distinguished duty Dr Bisset undertook with a modest reluctance, the result rather of inexperience than of any consciousness of want of knowledge. The result, however, was highly honourable to him. His journals, duly illustrated with plans, were daily delivered to Lord John Murray, who forwarded them every second or third day, to the Duke, who was then at Maastricht, at the head of the allied army, observing the motions of the French army under Marshal Saxe. His royal highness was pleased to express his approbation, by recommending Dr Bisset to the Duke of Montagu, then master-general of the ordnance, who honoured him with a warrant as engineer extraordinary to the brigade of engineers; he was at the same time promoted to a lieutenancy in the army.

At the end of the war, being placed on half-pay, he had full leisure to pursue his studies in fortification, and also to visit the principal specimens of the art upon the Continent. The result was his "Essay on the Theory and Construction of Fortifications," which appeared in 1751, in 8vo.

His attention being now disengaged from this pursuit, he resumed his original profession, and, for the sake of a salubrious air, which was necessary to his weakly constitution, retired to practise at the village of Skelton, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, where he spent all the remainder of his life. In 1755, when the Seven Years War was impending, he published a "Treatise on the Scurvy, with Remarks on the Cure of Scorbutic Ulcers," which he dedicated to Viscount Anson, and the other Lords of the Admiralty. In 1762, appeared his "Essay on the Medical Constitution of Great Britain," which he inscribed to his friend Sir John Pringle. In this work he shows the effects of the change of weather, and of the seasons, on the diseases of Great Britain; and at the conclusion is an interesting paper on the virtues of the herb Bear's-foot, in the cure of worms. In 1765, the University of St Andrews conferred upon him the degree of M.D. In 1766, he published, at Newcastle, a volume of "Medical Essays and Observations," in which are upwards of twenty papers on the climate and diseases of the

West Indies, which his experience in that country had enabled him to illustrate in a most satisfactory manner; besides some others on the chronic diseases of Great Britain, particularly the whooping-cough and the scorbutic itch, as well as many surgical remarks, which show a mind bent on the improvement of his profession. A few years before his death, he deposited, in the Library of the Infirmary at Leeds, a manuscript of medical observations, in octavo, and extending to nearly seven hundred pages; for which the physicians of that institution honoured him with a formal vote of thanks. Dr Bisset also presented a manuscript treatise on fortification to the Prince of Wales (afterwards George IV.); which was deposited in his Royal Highness's private library. These, with a small published treatise on naval tactics, and a few political papers, constituted the whole of the intellectual exertions of this distinguished man; who died at Knayton, near Thirsk, in May 1791, aged seventy-five years.

BLACK, JOSEPH, M.D. "the illustrious Nestor (as he has been termed by Lavoisier) of the chemical revolution,"—was not a native of Scotland, having been born on the banks of the Garonne, in France; but as his father was of Scottish extraction, while his mother was a native of that country, and as Scotland, further, was the scene not only of the better part of his life, but of all those exertions in science which will transmit his name to posterity, it seems proper that he should obtain a place in this work, even at the expense of a slight violation of its leading principle.

John Black, the father of the illustrious subject of this memoir, was a native of Belfast, descended, as already mentioned, from a Scottish family, which had for some time been settled there. For the purpose of carrying on the profession of a wine-merchant, he resided chiefly at Bourdeaux, where he married a daughter of Mr Robert Gordon of Hillhead in Aberdeenshire; a gentleman who also resided at Bourdeaux, and was engaged in the same trade. The sister of Mrs Black was mother to Mr Russel, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh, and their aunt was mother to Dr Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy in the same college, and author of the *History of the Roman Republic*. While Mr John Black resided at Bourdeaux, he was honoured with the friendship of Montesquieu, who was president of the parliament or court of justice in that province. "My father," says Dr Black, "was honoured with President Montesquieu's friendship, on account of his good character and virtues. He had no ambition to be very rich; but was cheerful and contented, benevolent and liberal-minded. He was industrious and prudent in business, of the strictest probity and honour, very temperate and regular in his manner of life. He and my mother, who was equally domestic, educated thirteen of their children, eight sons and five daughters, who all grew up to men and women, and were settled in different places. My mother taught her children to read English, there being no school for that purpose at Bourdeaux." The regard which Montesquieu entertained for Mr Black was testified in the warmest terms, when the latter was proposing to return to his native country. "I cannot," said he, on that occasion, "be reconciled to the thoughts of your leaving Bourdeaux. I lose the most agreeable pleasure I had, that of seeing you often, and forgetting myself with you."

Dr Black was born in the year 1728. In 1740, a few years before his father retired from business, he was sent home, in order to have the education of a British subject. After spending some time at the schools of Belfast, he was sent, in 1746, to complete his studies at the college of Glasgow. Here his attention became decidedly fixed upon physical science; inasmuch that, on being desired to select a profession, he chose that of medicine, on account of its allowing the greatest scope for such studies. It was about this time that Dr Cullen had been

appointed lecturer on chemistry in Glasgow university. Hitherto this science had been only treated as a curious, and, in some respects, a useless art. This great man, conscious of his own strength, and taking a wide and comprehensive view, saw the unoccupied field of philosophical chemistry open before him. He was satisfied that it was susceptible of great improvement, by means of liberal inquiry and rational investigation. It was perhaps the good fortune of Dr Black, in falling under such a master, that gave his mind a peculiar bent in favour of this department of physical science. His previous acquirements and extraordinary aptitude speedily became known to Dr Cullen, who was at all times remarkable for the personal attentions he paid to his pupils. Black became a valuable assistant to Dr Cullen in his chemical operations, and his experiments were sometimes publicly adduced in the lecture, as a sufficient authority for various new facts. Thus commenced a friendship between two great men, which was never afterwards interrupted, except by the Great Divider of kindred minds and loving hearts, and which was of considerable service to mankind.

In 1751, Black was sent to Edinburgh to complete the course of his medical studies. At this time, the mode of action of lithotriptic medicines, but particularly lime water, in alleviating the pains of stone and gravel, divided the opinions of professors and practitioners. This subject attracted the attention of Black, and it appears from some of his memorandums, that he at first held the opinion, that the causticity of alkalis was owing to the igneous matter which they derive from quick lime. Having prosecuted his experiments on magnesia, the grand secret of nature, which for ever will be associated with his name, was laid open to him. He perceived that the acrimony of these substances was not owing to their combination with igneous particles; that it was their peculiar property; and that they lost this property, and became mild, by combining with a certain portion of air, to which he gave the name of *FIXED AIR*; because it was fixed or become solid in the substances, into the composition of which it entered. He discovered, for instance, that a cubic inch of marble consisted of half its weight of pure lime, and a quantity of air equal to six gallons measure. This grand discovery, which forms one of the most important eras of chemical science, was the subject of his inaugural essay, on obtaining his degree as doctor of medicine; and the reputation it acquired for him, was the means, in 1756, of placing him in the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, then vacated by Dr Cullen, who was transferred to the same chair in the college of Edinburgh. The theory of fixed air (now termed by chemists, carbonic acid gas,) was speedily propagated on the continent, where at this time chemistry was occupying the attention of many great men. In Germany, Dr Black's opinions, though placed on the firmest basis by experiments, met with much opposition, which, it appears, gave him an uneasiness not to have been expected from his philosophical, and rather indolent character. In France, however, he was very differently treated. Lavoisier, in sending him a copy of his treatise on respiration, thus expressed himself: "It is but just you should be one of the first to receive information of the progress made in a career which you yourself have opened, and in which all of us here consider ourselves your disciples." To this Black replied, with a just admiration of what the French chemists were doing, and without reference to any merit of his own.

On his assuming the chair of chemistry at Glasgow, that of anatomy was also imposed upon him; but this latter he soon exchanged for that of medicine, for which, it would appear, he was better qualified. He gave great satisfaction by the perspicuity and simplicity, the caution and moderation, which he discovered in his medical lectures. At the same time, he became a favourite practitioner in the city, where his engaging appearance and manners, and the benevolent and unaffected interest which he took in all the cases entrusted to his care, ren-

dered him a most welcome visitor in every family. His principal friend at Glasgow was his associate Dr Adam Smith, professor of moral philosophy, with whom he had become intimate, when attending the university as a student. A peculiar simplicity and sensibility, an incorruptible integrity, the strictest delicacy and correctness of manners, marked the character of each of the philosophers, and firmly bound them in the closest union.

"It seems to have been between the year 1759 and 1763,¹ that his speculations concerning HEAT, which had long occupied his thoughts, were brought to maturity. And when it is considered by what simple experiments, by what familiar observations, Dr Black illustrated the laws of fluidity and evaporation, it appears wonderful that they had not long before been observed and demonstrated. They are, however, less obvious than might at first sight be imagined, and to have a distinct and clear conception of those seemingly simple processes of nature, required consideration and reflection. If a piece of wood, a piece of lead, and a piece of ice, are placed in a temperature much inferior to that of the body; and if we touch the piece of wood with the hand, it feels cold; if we touch the piece of lead, it feels colder still; but the piece of ice feels colder than either. Now, the first suggestion of sense is, that we receive cold from the wood; that we receive more from the lead; and most of all from the ice; and that the ice continues to be a source of cold till the whole be melted. But an inference precisely the contrary to all this is made by him, whose attention and reflection has been occupied with this subject. He infers that the wood takes a little heat from the hand, but is soon heated so much as to take no more. The lead takes more heat before it be as much satiated; and the ice continues to feel equally cold, and to carry off heat as fast as in the first moment, till the whole be melted. This, then, was the inference made by Dr Black.

"Boerhaave has recorded an interesting observation by Fahrenheit, namely, that water would sometimes grow considerably colder than melting snow without freezing, and would freeze in a moment when shaken or disturbed; and in the act of freezing give out many degrees of heat. Founded on this observation, it appears that Dr Black entertained some vague notion or conjecture, that the heat which was received by the ice, during its conversion into water, was not lost, but was still contained in the water. And he hoped to verify this conjecture, by making a comparison of the time required to raise a pound of water one degree in its temperature, with the time required to melt a pound of ice, both being supposed to receive the heat equally fast. And that he might ascertain how much heat was extricated during congelation, he thought of comparing the time required to depress the temperature of a pound of water one degree, with the time required for freezing it entirely. The plan of this series of experiments occurred to him during the summer season. But for want of ice, which he could not then procure, he had no opportunity of putting them to the test. He therefore waited impatiently for the winter. The winter arrived, and the decisive experiment was performed in the month of December 1761. From this experiment it appeared that as much heat was taken up by the ice, during its liquefaction, as would have raised the water 140 degrees in its temperature, and on the other hand, that exactly the same quantity of heat was given out during the congelation of the water. But this experiment, the result of which Dr Black eagerly longed for, only informed him how much heat was absorbed by the ice during liquefaction, was retained by the water while it remained fluid, and was again emitted by it in the process of freezing. But his mind was deeply impressed with the truth of the doctrine, by reflecting on the observations that

¹ The following most interesting account of one of the principal discoveries in modern science is from a biographical memoir, prefixed by professor Robison to Dr Black's lectures.

presented themselves when a frost or thaw happened to prevail. The hills are not at once cleared of snow during the sunshine of the brightest winter day, nor were the ponds suddenly covered with ice during a single frosty night. Much heat is absorbed and fixed in the water during the melting of the snow; and on the other hand, while the water is changed into ice, much heat is extricated. During a thaw, the thermometer sinks when it is removed from the air, and placed in the melting snow; and during severe frost, it rises when plunged into freezing water. In the first case, the snow receives heat; and in the last, the water allows the heat to escape again. These were fair and unquestionable inferences, and now they appear obvious and easy. But although many ingenious and acute philosophers had been engaged in the same investigations, and had employed the same facts in their disquisitions, those obvious inferences were entirely overlooked. It was reserved for Dr Black to remove the veil which hid this mystery of nature, and by this important discovery, to establish an era in the progress of chemical science, one of the brightest, perhaps, which has yet occurred in its history."

Dr Black explained his theory of *latent heat*—such was the name he himself gave to it—to the members of a literary society, April 23, 1762, and afterwards laid before his students a detailed view of the extensive and beneficial effects of this habitude in the grand economy of nature. From observing the analogy between the cessation of expansion by the thermometer, during the liquefaction of the ice, and during the conversion of water into steam, Dr Black, having explained the one, thought that the phenomena of boiling and evaporation would admit of a similar explanation. He was so convinced of the truth of this theory, that he taught it in his lectures in 1761, before he had made a single experiment on the subject. At this period, his prelections on the subject of evaporation were of great advantage to Mr James Watt, afterwards so distinguished for his application of steam power. His discovery, indeed, may be said to have laid the foundation of that great practical use of steam, which has conferred so immense a blessing upon the present age.

In 1766, on Dr Cullen being removed from the chair of chemistry at Edinburgh, to that of medicine, Dr Black, as formerly, supplied the vacant place. In this new scene, he saw that his talents would become more conspicuous, and of more extensive utility. He was therefore encouraged to devote himself, with still more enthusiastic zeal, to his duties as a chemical teacher. In this he was so far successful, that chemistry at length became a fashionable study in the Scottish capital, and a necessary part of the education of every gentleman. After this period, however, he retired from the field of chemical research, which now began to be occupied by a great number of distinguished philosophers. The cause of this was the delicate state of his health, aided, perhaps, a little by that indolence, or rather perhaps absence of ambitious motive, which has been already alluded to. It is to be regretted that, for the same reason, he can scarcely be said to have published any thing to the world, by which his discoveries might be permanently secured to the honour of his own name. From the period of his accession to the chemical chair at Edinburgh, he was, for thirty years, a most distinguished member of the professional society, which then adorned the capital, and has since given such an Augustan eclat to the latter age of the eighteenth century. Whatever obstruction his health proved in the way of publishing, it never marred the active discharge of his duties. His courses became every year plainer and more familiar, and were attended by a larger number of pupils. The simplicity and elegance of his experiments were always much admired. His manner and appearance were peculiarly pleasing. His voice in lecturing was low and fine, and his articulation so distinct that it was perfectly

well heard by a large audience. His discourse was remarkable for plainness and perspicuity; all his illustrations, whether by experiment, or by reference to the processes of nature, were quite apposite; his hearers rested with the most entire confidence on his conclusions, and even the most illiterate could not mistake his sentiments.

Dr Black's conduct in private life was marked by a striking degree of decorum, without the slightest approach to formality. His habit of studying physical science rendered him very much a man of facts and demonstrations: he is said to have been so entirely destitute of fancy, or to have so effectually repressed that faculty, that he never was known to utter a joke. In his domestic affairs, he was rigidly frugal and methodical; yet his house was open to an enlightened hospitality, in which he enjoyed as much of the society of his friends as his delicate health would permit. His chief friends were Smith, Hume, Carlyle, Home, and Hutton. The last was closely connected with him in philosophical pursuits, as well as in the bonds of private friendship—notwithstanding that there were some striking points of difference between the two men. In the latter days of Dr Black, he sunk into a low state of health, and only preserved himself from the shocks of the weather in this variable climate by a degree of care almost fantastic. Thus he spun out the thread of life to the last fibre. It was his generous and manly wish that he might never live to be a burden to his friends; and never was the wish more completely gratified. On the 26th of November, 1799, and in the seventy-first year of his age, he expired, without any convulsion, shock, or stupor, to announce or retard the approach of death. Being at table with his usual fare—some bread, a few prunes, and a measured quantity of milk, diluted with water, and having the cup in his hand when the last stroke of the pulse was to be given, he had set it down upon his knees, which were joined together, and kept it steady with his hand in the manner of a person perfectly at ease, and in this attitude expired, without spilling a drop, and without a writhing in his countenance; as if an *experiment* had been required, to show to his friends the facility with which he departed. His servant opened the door to tell him that some one had left his name, but getting no answer, stepped about half-way towards him, and seeing him sitting in that easy posture, supporting his basin of milk with one hand, he thought that he had dropped asleep, which he had sometimes seen happen after his meals. The man went back and shut the door, but before he got down stairs, some anxiety that he could not account for, made him return, and look again at his master. Even then, he was satisfied, after coming pretty near, and turned to go away, but again returned, and coming quite close, found his master without life. Dr Black, who had never been married, left more money than any one had thought he could have acquired in the course of his career. It was disposed of by his will in a manner highly characteristic. Being divided into ten thousand shares, it was parcelled out to a numerous list of relations in shares, in numbers, or fractions of shares, according to the degree in which they were proper objects of his care or solicitude.

BLACKADDER, JOHN, a distinguished preacher of the time of the *persecution*, was the representative of an ancient but decayed family—Blackadder of Tulliallan—and was born in the year 1615. He was nephew to principal Strang of Glasgow, and grand-nephew to the famous chorographer Timothy Pont. His theological education took place under the eye of the former of these eminent men, and having been duly licensed by the presbyterian church, then in its highest purity and most triumphant domination, he received a call, in 1652, to the parish-church of Troqueer, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries. Previous to this period, he had married the daughter of a wealthy merchant of that town, named Haning. Mr Blackadder commenced his ministerial labours with a zeal which

seems to have been singular even in those times. He, in the first place, gathered around him a very active body of elders, whom he set to work in every direction, upon the task of cultivating the religious mind of the parish. He also instituted a very strict system of moral discipline among his flock. Not content with the weekly sermons on Sunday, he instituted lectures on the ordinary days, which were attended by many persons from a distance. He also projected a plan for occasionally interchanging duty with the neighbouring parochial clergy, which was carried into effect within the entire limits of the presbytery, and is said to have been attended with the best results. The church at this time rested undisturbed under the sway of Cromwell, who gave it toleration in every respect except as a collective body; Mr Blackadder, therefore, found no bar to his progress, which was so exceedingly rapid, that in less than two years he had the satisfaction of seeing a thorough reformation in the devotional habits of his parishioners. Evil days, however, came at last. In 1662, the episcopal form of church-government was forced by the restored house of Stuart upon a people who were generally repugnant to it. Mr Blackadder, so far from complying with the new system, employed himself for several successive Sundays in exposing what he considered its unlawfulness, and, in his own words, "entered his dissent in heaven" against it. The presbytery of Dumfries, upon which the influence of so zealous a mind was probably very great, gave a positive refusal to an order of the parliament to celebrate the anniversary of the restoration at a festival. A party of fifty horse was accordingly sent to bring the whole of this refractory band of churchmen to Edinburgh. On the day of their arrival at Dumfries, Mr Blackadder was engaged to preach in the town church. He was entreated not to appear in the pulpit, lest he should exasperate the soldiers against him; but instead of taking this advice, he desired the gallery to be cleared, in order that the military might attend his sermon. They did so, and listened decorously to the denunciations which he could not help uttering against all who had been concerned in the late religious defections. He, and some of his brethren, were next day conducted in an honourable captivity to the capital, where he underwent some examinations, but was speedily released, by the interest of his friends. He was now, however, obliged to demit his charge, in favour of an episcopal incumbent. On the last Sunday of October, he preached a farewell sermon to his attached flock.

"This," we are informed, "was a day of anxious expectation throughout the country, and made an impression on the minds of those who witnessed it never to be forgotten. The church of Troqueer stood (as it now does) upon a gentle eminence on the banks of the Nith, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country, which, in the neighbourhood of Dumfries, presents a delightful variety of local scenery. On the morning of that memorable Sabbath, Mr Blackadder had risen early from prayer and private communion. He stepped forth to meditate on the subject of the day. There was a gloom and heaviness in the atmosphere that seemed to correspond with the general melancholy. A fog, or thick haze, that covered the face of the earth, as with a grey mantle, had retired from the vale of Nith towards the mountains. As he paced his little garden with a slow and pensive step, his contemplations were suddenly interrupted by the tolling of the morning bells, several of which, in the adjacent parishes, were distinctly audible from the uncommon stillness of the air. These hallowed chimes, once the welcome summons to the house of prayer, now sounded like the knell of their expiring liberties, reminding him how many of his brethren were, like himself, preparing to bid their last adieu, amidst the tears and blessings of their people. At this signal of retirement, he betook himself to the duties of the closet, to hold nearer intercourse with heaven, and fortify himself for the solemn occasion.

"The people, at an early hour, had been straggling on the height, but kept aloof from the church, unwilling to put their minister to hazard by convening in multitudes, which had been discharged as a breach of peace and good order. They collected by degrees in small scattered groups about the church-yard, occupied in dark conjectures, and waiting the minister's approach with extreme anxiety. Mr Blackadder made his appearance with his wonted firmness and composure, and with the same placid serenity of countenance for which he was remarkable. The audience was not numerous, but every feature appeared settled into a deep and earnest concern. Most of them were dissolved in tears, and at many parts of the discourse, there were loud and involuntary bursts of sorrow.

"Towards the middle of the sermon, an alarm was given that a party of soldiers from Dumfries were on their march to seize him, and had crossed the bridge. Upon this he closed hastily, pronounced the blessing, and retired to his chamber. The military surrounded the church-yard, and, as the people departed, they took down the names of all those who belonged to Dumfries, or any of the other parishes, as the law had affixed a penalty of twenty shillings Scots on every person absent from his own church. They offered violence to none, and went away without entering the manse, being assured that no strangers were there. When they were gone, the minister assembled the remains of the congregation in his own house, and finished the sermon, 'standing on the stair-head, both the upper and lower flat being crowded to the full.'

"The people seemed very loath to depart, lingering in suspense about the door, expressing their concern for his safety, and their willingness to shed their blood in his defence. Mr Blackadder conjured them to have regard to the peace of the country, and give no handle to their adversaries by any disturbance. 'Go,' said he, and fend [*provide*] for yourselves: the hour is come when the shepherd is smitten, and the flock shall be scattered. Many are this day mourning for the desolations of Israel, and weeping, like the prophet, between the porch and the altar. God's heritage has become the prey of the spoiler; the mountain of the house of the Lord as the high places of the forest. When the faithful pastors are removed, hirelings shall intrude, whom the great Shepherd never sent, who will devour the flock, and tread down the residue with their feet. As for me, I have done my duty, and now there is no time to evade. I recommend you to Him, who is able to keep you from falling, and am ready, through grace, to be disposed of as the Lord pleases.'"¹

After this solemn and affecting scene, Mr Blackadder went, with his wife and numerous family, to reside at Caitloch in the parish of Glencairn, a wilder and more central part of the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. Here he soon attracted the attention of the authorities by the crowds which he collected to hear his occasional preachings, and he was therefore obliged to remove. For some years after this period, he appears to have wandered through the country, preaching whenever he could find a proper opportunity. In 1670, having performed worship at a conventicle near Dunfermline, where the people had armed themselves for self-defence, he was summoned before the privy council, but contrived to elude their power. When the search was a little slackened, he renewed his practice of itinerant preaching, which he not only conceived to be no offence against human laws, but a duty solemnly enjoined by the word of God. On one occasion, he preached at Kinkell, near St Andrews: the people flocked from that metropolitan city to hear him, notwithstanding all the injunctions and surveillance of Archbishop Sharpe. It is said, that, on Sharpe desiring the provost to send out the militia to disperse the congregation, he was informed that it was

¹ Crichton's Life of John Blackadder, 12mo, 1823.

impossible—the militia had gone already as worshippers. In 1674, he was outlawed, and a reward of a thousand merks was offered for his apprehension; but he nevertheless continued to preach occasionally to large assemblages in the fields. What may appear surprising, he often resided in the capital, without undergoing any annoyance, and contrived, notwithstanding the migratory nature of his life, to rear a large and well-instructed family. It does not appear that he approved of the insurrection of his friends, which was suppressed at Bothwell. Though engaged in duty immediately before this event, he fortunately was confined during the whole period of its continuance, by a rheumatism, and therefore escaped all blame on that account. In 1680, he made a voyage to Holland, and settled his son at Leyden, as a student of medicine; a circumstance which proves that the persecution to which these clergymen were subjected was not uniformly attended by pecuniary destitution. After spending several months in Holland, he returned to Scotland, and, in the succeeding year, was apprehended, and confined in the state-prison upon the Bass. He remained here for four years, when at length his health declined so much, on account of the insalubrious nature of his prison, that his friends made interest to procure his liberation upon the plea that he must otherwise sink under his malady. The government at first mocked him with a proposal to transfer him to Haddington or Dunbar jail, but at length, on a more earnest and better attested remonstrance, offered to give him liberty to reside in Edinburgh, under a bond for five thousand merks. Ere this tender mercy could be made available, he died in his ialeit prison, December, 1685, having nearly completed his seventieth year. John Blackadder lies interred in North Berwick church-yard, where there is an epitaph to his memory, containing, among others, the following characteristic lines :—

Grace formed him in the Christian hero's mould;
 Meek in his own concerns—in's Master's bold;
 Passions to reason chained, prudence did lead,
 Zeal warmed his breast, and prudence cooled his head.
 Five years on this lone rock, yet sweet abode,
 He Enoch-like enjoyed and walked with God;
 Till by long-living on his heavenly food,
 His soul by love grew up, too great, too good,
 To be confined to jail, or flesh, or blood.

BLACKLOCK, THOMAS, an ingenious blind poet, was born, November 10th, 1721, at Annan; his parents were natives of Cumberland, his father a bricklayer, and his mother the daughter of Mr Richard Rae, an extensive cattle dealer. Before he was six months old, he lost his sight in the small-pox; and was thus rendered incapable of learning a mechanical trade, while the poor circumstances to which a series of misfortunes had reduced his father, placed equally beyond his reach an education for any of those professions where the exercise of the mental faculties is principally required. His affectionate parent seems to have been aware, however, that the happiness of his son, shut out from so many of the enjoyments afforded by the external world, must mainly depend upon his intellectual resources; and in order to form these, he devoted part of his leisure hours to such instruction as his poor blind boy was susceptible of—he read to him, at first the books adapted to the understanding of a child, and afterwards those fitted for a maturer capacity, such as Milton, Spenser, Prior, Pope, and Addison. His companions also, who pitied his want of sight, and loved him for his gentle disposition, lent their assistance in this task of kindness; and by their help he acquired some little knowledge of Latin. Thomson and Allan Ramsay were his favourite authors; and it was as early as his twelfth year that he evinced still more decidedly his love of the poetical art by the composition of an ode, ad-

dressed "To a little Girl whom I had offended,"—a production not remarkable solely on account of the future celebrity of its author, but because it displays at once his mildness of temper and lively fancy. The argument that shrewishness spoils a young lady's looks, and ought therefore to be avoided, coming as it does from a little fellow of twelve to a girl about his own age, is adroitly managed :

"Should but thy fair companions view
How ill that frown becomes thy brow,
With fear and grief in every eye,
Each would to each, astonished, cry,
Heavens! where is all her sweetness flown!—
How strange a figure now she's grown!
Run, Nancy, let us run, lest we
Grow pettish awkward things as she."

Thus early did Blacklock show, that in the course of reading chosen for him, his father had not mistaken the bent of his inclination. But though, as we have mentioned, some of his comrades delighted to forward his favourite studies, and, by their assiduous attentions, to make him forget the deprivation under which he laboured, there were others who took pleasure in rendering him bitterly conscious of his misfortune, and exulted in the success of such practical jokes, as it was easy to make him the subject of. It is but too obvious that his own experience at this period, when exposed to the insults of unfeeling boys, suggested the reflection introduced in the article "Blind," afterwards written by him for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "Parents of middle or of higher rank," he there remarks, "who are so unfortunate as to have blind children, ought by all possible means to keep them out of vulgar company. The herd of mankind have a wanton malignity which eternally impels them to impose upon the blind, and to enjoy the painful situations in which these impositions place them. This is a stricture upon the humanity of our species, which nothing but the love of truth and the dictates of benevolence could have extorted from us. But we have known some," he adds, evidently referring to himself, "who have suffered so much from this diabolical mirth in their own persons, that it is natural for us, by all the means in our power, to prevent others from becoming its victims." The very means taken to alleviate Blacklock's misfortune in some sort increased its force; for as his mind expanded, it taught him to feel with greater keenness his own dependent condition: familiar with some of the noblest flights of genius, and himself become a poet, he would probably have exchanged all his intellectual stores for the ability of earning his bread by handicraft labour. Lamenting his blindness, he thus closes an enumeration of the miseries it entailed upon him:

"Nor end my sorrows here: The sacred fane
Of knowledge, scarce accessible to me,
With heart-consuming anguish I behold:
Knowledge for which my soul insatiate burns
With ardent thirst. Nor can these useless hands,
Untutor'd in each life-sustaining art,
Nourish this wretched being, and supply
Fragile nature's wants, that short cessation know."

Alternately depressed by a sense of his own helplessness, and comforted by that piety with which he seems to have been from first to last most deeply imbued, Blacklock lived at home till his nineteenth year. A fresh misfortune then overtook him in the loss of his father, who was crushed to death by the fall of a malt-kiln, with eighty bushels of grain upon it, belonging to his son-in-law. Blacklock's affection for his parents must have exceeded that of other children; for that anxious solicitude about his safety and comfort which other boys begin

to forget, when the business of the world removes them from its immediate influence, had been to him extended over those years when to the helplessness of a child he added the sense and feelings of a man. To his keenly susceptible mind this stroke must therefore have been peculiarly afflicting. And it was attended not only with regret on account of remembered benefits, but also by the anticipation of future evils. A means of livelihood was indeed suggested by Blacklock's love of music: as he played well on the violin and flute, and even composed pieces with taste, it was proposed that he should follow this art as a profession. "But the unhappy situation in which he was then placed," says the authority upon which this statement is given,¹ "made him dread consequences to which he could never reconcile his mind. The very thought that his time and talents should be prostrated to the forwarding of loose mirth and riot inspired him with an honest indignation." Unable to bring down his mind to this occupation,—the only one which seemed within his reach,—deprived of the stay on which he had hitherto leaned, blind and feeble, no wonder that the fate of a houseless beggar sometimes presented itself as what might possibly happen to himself. Burns occasionally indulged in similar forebodings; but when he depicts his unhappy fortune, and doggedly exclaims,

"The last o't, the warst o't,
Is only but to beg!"

we must be excused for iron-heartedly recollecting that he was an able-bodied man, who, as his brother Gilbert records, never met with his match in mowing—the hardest of all rustic labour. A man so gifted, yet so complaining, meets with little sympathy, as he is entitled to none: but with poor Blacklock the dread of dying a houseless wanderer was more than a mere rhetorical flourish or the indulgence of a groundless querulousness. While we read the lines in which he unfolds his fears, we perceive that anguish wrung his heart in writing them, and we know that his situation justified his apprehensions.

"Dejecting prospect! soon the hapless hour
May come—perhaps this moment it impends—
Which drives me forth to penury and cold,
Naked, and beat by all the storms of heaven,
Friendless and guideless to explore my way;
Till on cold earth this poor unsheltered head
Reclining, vainly from the ruthless blast
Respite I beg, and in the shock expire."

Although gloomy anticipations like these sometimes intruded, Blacklock did not permit them to overwhelm him, but calming his fears, and resting with a pious confidence in the awards of a protecting Providence, he continued to live with his mother for a year after his father's death.

Some of his poems had by this time got abroad and made him known beyond his own immediate circle of friends. We shall not pretend to deny that the circumstance of his blindness had some effect, in addition to the intrinsic merits of these productions, in making them be sought after and dispersed among literary persons. On account of their being the verses of a blind poet, they were no doubt read by many who were little able to appreciate their real excellencies, and who, having gratified their curiosity, did not concern themselves about the con-

¹ An article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which, after being read over to Dr Blacklock, slightly altered, and two notes added at his request, was reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for 1754. The authority may therefore be considered to be that of Dr Blacklock himself. From internal evidence it appears very certain, that this article was a contribution to Mr Urban from his frequent correspondent Dr Johnson.

dition of the author: but still by this means the fame of Blacklock's genius was extended; and at last it reached a gentleman, who to curiosity added benevolence of heart. This was Dr John Stevenson, a physician in Edinburgh, who, while on a professional visit in Dumfries, saw some of our author's pieces, and resolved to afford the young man's talents the opportunity of expanding in avocations and amid society more congenial to one so much restricted to pleasures of an intellectual kind. Accordingly Blacklock was, in 1741, induced to remove to the metropolis, where he attended a grammar-school for some time, and afterwards entered as a student in the college, Dr Stevenson supplying him with the means necessary for the prosecution of his studies. To the friend who thus so efficaciously patronized him, he afterwards inscribed an imitation of the ode to Macenas, which occupies the first place in his poems, as it does in those of Horace; and that he never forgot the benefits bestowed upon himself is manifested by the ready zeal which his future life at all times displayed for the encouragement of unnoticed genius.

Blacklock's studies were interrupted by the expedition of the Highlanders, in 1745; and during the distractions consequent upon that memorable campaign he resided in Dumfries with Mr M'Murdo, his brother-in-law. On the re-establishment of peace, he returned to college, and studied six years more. In this period he acquired a good knowledge of all those branches of education where he was not hindered by the want of sight; and became better skilled than was common in the French language, from being on habits of intimacy with the family of provost Alexander, whose wife was a Parisian. It may well inspire wonder that latterly there was no science with which Blacklock had not made himself acquainted—no learned language which he did not master—and no modern tongue, of any acknowledged use to a man of general literature, with which he was not more or less familiar.

Amid the severer studies of classical learning, philosophy, and theology, his attachment to poetry was not forgotten. In 1746, a volume of his verses in 8vo. was published at Glasgow. A second edition followed at Edinburgh, in 1754; and two years afterwards, a quarto edition, with an account of his life by Mr Spence, professor of poetry at Oxford, came out by subscription in London. In the selection of pieces for the press, Blacklock was by his friends considered to be over fastidious; and by persisting to exclude what he himself thought unworthy of a place, he greatly limited the size of his books. By the London edition a considerable sum was realized for the author's advantage. Besides these editions of his poems, another in 4to. was published in 1793, with a life elegantly written by Henry Mackenzie. They have also been reprinted in the collections of Anderson and Chalmers. Of all these the edition of Dr Anderson, though not the latest, is the most complete.

Hume the historian was among the friends who early interested themselves in the fortunes of Blacklock, and was of considerable service in promoting the subscription to the London edition of his poems; but all intercourse between them was subsequently broken off. When at a later period Beattie submitted to our author's judgment his "Essay on the Immutability of Moral Sentiment," and acquainted him with the more extensive plan of the "Essay on Truth," stating that, in the prosecution of that design, he should think it his duty to treat Mr Hume with freedom, he alluded to that eminent philosopher as "a friend of yours." This drew from Blacklock a long account of the intercourse between himself and Hume, from its commencement to its close. The interruption of their good understanding took place, as Sir William Forbes, who saw the letter among Beattie's papers, informs us, "through no fault on the part of Dr Blacklock;" but the letter itself has never been published,—which is to be regretted.

because it might afford some farther insight than we possess into a character round which Hume has drawn the screen of an impenetrable autobiography. It is also desirable that the real circumstances of the connexion should be known, as it has been the means, in the hands of Hardy, author of the *Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*, of throwing a most disagreeable reflection upon the memory of Blacklock. This writer affirms that Hume conferred upon him the salary which he derived from an office in the university—meaning, probably, the *Advocates' Library*; while, from the numerous impossibilities and obvious errors of the statement, it may be pretty confidently assumed, that the whole is destitute of truth.

The course of study followed by Blacklock at college was that usually gone through for the purpose of entering upon the ministry; but it was not till after the abandonment of a project, (which he began to entertain in 1757, and from which he was dissuaded by Mr Hume, after making considerable preparations towards it,) for delivering lectures on oratory, that he finally adopted the resolution of becoming a clergyman. Having applied himself for some time exclusively to the necessary studies, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Dumfries, in 1759. He soon acquired considerable reputation as a pulpit orator, and took great delight in composing sermons, a considerable number of which he left behind him: these it was at one time the intention of his friends to publish; but for some reason or other this has never been done.

The Rev. Mr Jameson, Blacklock's intimate companion, to whom allusion is more than once made in his poems, has given the following account of his habits about this time:

"His manner of life was so uniform, that the history of it during one day, or one week, is the history of it during the seven years that our intercourse lasted. Reading, music, walking, conversing, and disputing on various topics, in theology, ethics, &c., employed almost every hour of our time. It was pleasant to hear him engaged in a dispute; for no man could keep his temper better than he always did on such occasions. I have known him frequently very warmly engaged for hours together, but never could observe one angry word to fall from him. Whatever his antagonist might say, *he* always kept his temper,—'*semper paratus, et refellere sine pertinacia, et refelli sine iracundia*?' He was, however, extremely sensible to what he thought ill usage, and equally so whether it regarded himself or his friends. But his resentment was always confined to a few satirical verses, which were generally burnt soon after. The late Mr Spence (the editor of the 4to. edition of his poems) frequently urged him to write a tragedy, and assured him that he possessed interest enough with Mr Garrick to get it acted. Various subjects were proposed to him, several of which he approved, yet he never could be prevailed on to begin any thing of that kind. It may seem remarkable, but as far as I know, it was invariably the case, that he never could think or write on any subject proposed to him by another. I have frequently admired with what readiness and rapidity he could make verses. I have known him dictate from thirty to forty verses, and by no means bad ones, as fast as I could write them; but the moment he was at a loss for a rhyme or a verse to his liking, he stopt altogether, and could very seldom be induced to finish what he had begun with so much ardour."

"All those who ever acted as his amanuenses," says Mackenzie, "agree in this rapidity and ardour of composition which Mr Jameson ascribes to him. He never could dictate till he stood up; and as his blindness made walking about without assistance inconvenient or dangerous to him, he fell insensibly into a vibratory sort of motion of his body, which increased as he warmed with his subject, and was pleased with the conceptions of his mind. This motion at last

became habitual to him; and though he could sometimes restrain it when on ceremony, or in any public appearance, such as preaching, he felt a certain uneasiness from the effort, and always returned to it when he could indulge it without impropriety. This is the appearance which he describes in the ludicrous picture he has drawn of himself:

—“As some vessel tossed by wind and tide
Bounds o’er the waves, and rocks from side to side,
In just vibration thus I always move.”

Much of the singularity in the gestures of poor Blacklock must have proceeded from his inability to observe the carriage of others, and to regulate his own in conformity with theirs: a tree will accommodate its growth to the restraints imposed upon it, but where a single branch escapes from the artificial training, flinging itself abroad in all the wild vigour of nature, its tufted luxuriance appears more striking from the contiguity of a well-clipt and orderly neighbourhood. Such was Blacklock’s manner: he could not know with how little outward discomposure the world has taught men to accompany the expression of their emotions; and with him ardent feeling produced an unrestrained effect upon the countenance and gesture. The author of Douglas, in one of his letters, has given a curious picture of his singular appearance when under strong excitement: “I went to a companion’s,” says Home, “and sent for the blind poet, who is really a strange creature to look at—a small weakly under thing—a chilly, bloodless animal, that shivers at every breeze. But if nature has cheated him in one respect, by assigning to his share forceless sinews, and a ragged form, she has made him ample compensation on the other, by giving him a mind endued with the most exquisite feelings—the most ardent, kindled-up affections; a soul, to use a poet’s phrase, that’s tremblingly alive all over: in short, he is the most flagrant enthusiast I ever saw; when he repeats verses, he is not able to keep his seat, but springs to his feet, and shows his rage by the most animated motions. He has promised to let me have copies of his best poems, which I will transmit to you whenever he is as good as his word.”

This letter, besides the description of Blacklock’s exterior and carriage, opens to us one source of his acutest sufferings: we have already adverted to the unthinking insults to which his blindness exposed him while a boy, and it appears but too certain that many who had arrived at manhood in respect of their outward frame, did not treat him with greater tenderness in his maturer years. They did not, perhaps, decoy him to the edge of a ditch that they might have the satisfaction of seeing him flounder into it, or offer prickles to his grasp that they might be diverted by the contortions of countenance which the unexpected wounds occasioned; but they went to see the blind poet, and induced him to recite his verses, from the same kind of motive that takes people to witness the exhibition of a learned pig. Blacklock’s position in regard to such visitors was peculiarly painful: he was in a great measure dependant upon his talents for support; and to have indignantly refused to display them, would have been to raise up obstacles to his own success. His feelings were at the same time the most nicely wrought, and even the triumphs of genius did not afford him perfect gratification; for he knew that his hearers were not carried away by his enthusiasm, but listened with a cold and critical attention, noting every peculiarity of tone, look, and gesture. He has himself told us how exquisitely painful was the consciousness of being the object of such unfeeling curiosity:

——“the supercilious eye
Of, from the noise and glare of prosperous life,
On my obscurity diverts its gaze,

Exulting; and with wanton pride elate
 Felicitates its own superior lot:
 Inhuman triumph!"

A letter of Blacklock, written from Dumfries about the time when he received his licence as a preacher, admits us to a very near view of his remarkable sensibility of temperament. It does not appear what were the circumstances alluded to in this letter; but probably the connexion mentioned as having just been formed, was a declaration of mutual attachment and promise of marriage between our poet and his future wife, which he calls ill-fated, on account of his gloomy prospects, and his regret for having involved one whom he loved in his own unhappy fortunes. This letter is as follows:

"DEAR SIR,—I received your last inclosed to Mr —; and so far as my situation was capable of being consoled, I was happy in the tenderness and sympathy which you express for me. Beneath those exalted pleasures which we are taught to expect in an eternal state; beneath the enjoyment of God himself; I know no happiness which deserves the attention of a wise man, but such as we derive from conscious virtue, benevolence, or friendship. These alone are at present the cordial drops with which heaven has thought proper to mix my cup of bitterness. Since every object of my former pursuit eludes my embrace, or grows insipid by enjoyment, it is time to anticipate such pleasures as are subject to neither of these misfortunes, and to cultivate a relish for them. Fate and nature tell me that I must quickly make my exit from this present scene; they never could send this information to a heart less intimidated by it. I approach the verge of my present existence, not with the reluctance of inexperienced youth, not with the horrors of guilt and superstition, but with the cheerfulness of a wearied traveller, in prospect of the chamber destined for his repose. From this account it will be easy to judge how much I would prize, or how eagerly pursue any civil or ecclesiastical employment were it in my power; but far from being so, it is beyond my remotest hopes;—all access to every resource whence these advantages are derived is denied to me. I have neither power nor influence in life, and am consequently incapable of interesting any who have it. There are evils which may be suffered without mortification; yet, let me confess it, there are others which I cannot think of without being melted to infantine weakness. In my former I told you that I had projected one last resource, and made one last effort for happiness: had I then foreseen the weakness of my constitution, and the unhappiness of my circumstances, sooner would I have run any hazard which this or any future scene can present, than have ventured to form such an ill-fated connexion. It is true that those who are interested in me, persuaded either by my looks, or the present degree of strength which I seem to possess, flatter themselves, or are willing to flatter me, that my present indisposition will not prove decisive; such is the opinion of the lady formerly mentioned. I have endeavoured to impress her with contrary sentiments, that the friendship between us might be dissolved without tearing: but I had reason to lament my success; for in proportion to her sense of my danger, which, after my return from Edinburgh, was pretty high, her whole manner, not to me only, but to all her other friends, appeared expressive of dejection and misery. I had not resolution to continue my former plan, but used every possible argument to persuade her of my returning health; and though conscious of acting a wrong part in this, I have not sufficient strength of mind to act a right one. This is my present situation of mind: I know it is what I ought not to have discovered to one of your humanity, nor can I pretend any other apology, but that I apply to the last and most natural resource of wretchedness, the sympathy of a friend. It is all I ask; it is all I hope; and it is what I am sure to obtain. Pray, tell me whether your bro-

ther prosecutes the same business with you, or whether friends in the country may not have it in their power to serve him? The precaution in my former concerning the balance of accounts between us was not taken from any fear of its appearing against my relations, but that you might recover it with greater ease from myself during mine own life. Once more I must ask pardon for the length and subject of this letter; but if you continue to favour me as a correspondent, my future answers shall be less tedious and more cheerful. As you are now more disengaged from secular business, the demands of your friends to hear from you will proportionably increase; and as you have now long taught me to think myself of that number, I can no more resign the claim which it gives than the tenderness which it inspires,—a tenderness which shall ever be felt in the highest degree, by your most sincere friend, and humble servant,

“Dumfries, 15th April, 1759.

THOMAS BLACKLOCK.”

In 1762, the Earl of Selkirk procured from the Crown a presentation to the parish of Kirkcudbright in favour of Mr Blacklock; who, having thus the prospect of a competent income, married Mrs Sarah Johnston, daughter of Mr Joseph Johnston, surgeon in Dumfries. But though not disappointed in the happiness he expected to derive from this union, the gleam of fortune which seems to have induced him to form it, forsook him immediately after the step was taken. He was ordained a few days after his marriage; but the people of the parish refused, on account of his blindness, to acknowledge him as their pastor, and a lawsuit was commenced, which, after two years, was compromised by Blacklock retiring upon a moderate annuity. From the first moment of opposition, it had been his wish to make this arrangement, not from any conviction of incompetency to the duties of a parish minister, but because he saw it was needless to contend against a prejudice so strongly maintained. “Civil and ecclesiastical employments,” he says, “have something either in their own nature, or in the invincible prejudices of mankind, which renders them almost entirely inaccessible to those who have lost the use of sight. No liberal and cultivated mind can entertain the least hesitation in concluding that there is nothing, either in the nature of things, or even in the positive institutions of genuine religion, repugnant to the idea of a blind clergyman. But the novelty of the phenomenon, while it astonishes vulgar and contracted understandings, inflames their zeal to rage and madness.” His own experience, it is evident, suggested this observation. Blindness is certainly not in itself a sufficient reason for debarring those afflicted with it from the ministerial office; it does not incapacitate a man for the acquirement of the requisite knowledge, nor exclude from his bosom the glow of holy zeal. On the contrary, worldly cares and ambition are not so apt to intrude. “The attention of the soul, confined to those avenues of perception which she can command, is neither dissipated nor confounded by the immense multiplicity, or the rapid succession of surrounding objects. Hence her contemplations are more uniformly fixed upon herself, and the revolution of her own internal frame,”¹ and hence a greater fitness in her for the growth of devotion. The want of sight would, indeed, put inconveniences in the way of a clergyman’s intercourse with his parishioners, but they are small; and it is not easy to conceive any thing more affecting and impressive than for those in the full enjoyment of their faculties to hear lessons of submission to the divine will, and of gratitude for the blessings of providence, from the mouth of one upon whom the hand of God has been laid. Such were not, however, the opinions of those with whom Blacklock had to deal; and he acquiesced. This effort could not but be painful; the sense of exclusion from all the business of life had long oppressed him, and the moment that patronage was extended towards him, and

¹ Encyclopædia Britannica, article Blind, § 10.

opened the prospect of public usefulness, he was assailed by a persecution, which rejected him as incompetent to the duties for which other men are fit, and drove him back to his former state of dependence and seclusion. It is probably to the period when he experienced so determined an opposition from the people of Kirkcudbright, that we are to refer the composition of his *Paraclesis*; for he informs us in the preface that his motive for writing that work was "to alleviate the pressure of repeated disappointments, to soothe his anguish for the loss of departed friends, to elude the rage of implacable and unprovoked enemies,—in a word, to support his own mind, which, for a number of years, besides its literary difficulties and its natural disadvantages, had maintained an incessant conflict with fortune." At no other period but that above referred to, are we aware that Blacklock was the object of any thing like an angry feeling.

On the day of Mr Blacklock's ordination was afforded, in his person, an instance of sleep-walking, perhaps the most remarkable and complicated on record. As such the reader may be pleased to see an account of it as it is preserved in Dr Cleghorn's thesis *De Somno*, which was published in Blacklock's own lifetime (in 1783). The facts were authenticated by Mrs Blacklock, Mr Gilbert Gordon,² and a numerous party of friends who dined with him at the inn of Kirkcudbright on the occasion in question. "Harassed by the censures of the populace," says Dr Cleghorn, "whereby not only his reputation, but his very subsistence was endangered, and fatigued with mental exertion, Blacklock fell asleep after dinner. Some hours afterwards he was called by a friend, answered his salutation, rose and went into the dining-room, where his friends were met. He joined with two of them in a concert, singing tastefully as usual, and without missing a word. He ate an egg to supper, and drank some wine, and other liquors. His friends, however, observed him to be a little absent. By and bye he began to speak to himself; but in so low a tone, and so confusedly, as to be unintelligible. At last, being pretty forcibly roused, he awoke with a sudden start, unconscious of all that had happened." We have no example of a person in sleep performing so many of the functions of one awake, and in so exact a manner, as Blacklock is here stated to have done. He spoke, walked, sung, took wine, and must have observed with accuracy many of the little courtesies of social life; for his friends did not suspect that he was asleep till he began to talk to himself. The time, however, was convenient for so unusual an exhibition; and perhaps many other somnambulists would join in the occupations or amusements of those around them, if the world were astir when they make their rounds. Circumstances, however, are quite different in ordinary cases; the person gets up when all others are at rest, and performs one or two acts, to which his half-awakened fancy impels him, without being involved, as it were, in any current of events extraneous to himself, which, by the habit of association, might have led him on to other mechanical exertions of the mental or bodily faculties; thus the original excitement, receiving no casual addition, soon expends itself, and allows him to relapse into slumber. Blacklock, on the contrary, when partially roused, found the business of life in progress, and was drawn on from one act to another in the usual course, no excitement occurring strong enough wholly to burst the bonds of sleep. This intermediate state between sleeping and waking, when part of the faculties are alert and active, and the other part entirely dormant, may be approached from either confine; and whether from sleeping we become half awake, or from waking fall half asleep, the effects are strikingly similar. Many instances of what is called absence, or reverie, disclose phenomena equally surprising with those of somnambulism; and a comparison between them

² Author of the *Short Account of the Life and Writings of Blacklock*, prefixed to the second edition of his poems, 1754.

would probably afford the best means of explaining both. A contemporary of Blacklock, the author of the "Wealth of Nations," was in the habit, when awake, of doing things as unaccountable as the blind poet is above stated to have done when asleep.

In 1764, after the connexion between him and the parish of Kirkcudbright was dissolved in the manner we have mentioned, Blacklock removed to Edinburgh, where he received boarders into his house,² superintending the studies of those who chose to have such assistance. "In this occupation," says Mackenzie, "no teacher was perhaps ever more agreeable to his pupils, nor master of a family to its inmates, than Dr Blacklock. The gentleness of his manners, the benignity of his disposition, and that warm interest in the happiness of others which led him so constantly to promote it, were qualities that could not fail to procure him the love and regard of the young people committed to his charge; while the society which esteem and respect for his character and his genius often assembled at his house, afforded them an advantage rarely to be found in establishments of a similar kind. The writer of this account has frequently been witness of the family scene at Dr Blacklock's; has seen the good man amidst the circle of his young friends, eager to do him all the little offices of kindness which he seemed so much to merit and to feel. In this society he appeared entirely to forget the privation of sight, and the melancholy which, at other times, it might produce. He entered with the cheerful playfulness of a young man into all the sprightly narrative, the sportful fancy, the humorous jest, that rose around him. It was a sight highly gratifying to philanthropy to see how much a mind endowed with knowledge, kindled by genius, and above all, lighted up with innocence and piety, like Blacklock's, could overcome the weight of its own calamity, and enjoy the content, the happiness, the gaiety of others. Several of those inmates of Dr Blacklock's house retained, in future life, all the warmth of that impression which his friendship at this early period had made upon them; and in various quarters of the world he had friends and correspondents from whom no length of time, or distance of place, had ever estranged him."

In these hours of social relaxation, Blacklock found one of the greatest pleasures of his existence. Music also afforded him a lively gratification; for he sung with taste, and performed tolerably well on several instruments, particularly on the flute. He had learned to play on the flageolet in consequence of a dream in which he supposed himself to listen to the most enchanting melody, produced by a shepherd on a hillside from that instrument; and he always carried one in his pocket, on which he was by no means averse from being asked to perform,—“a natural feeling,” says Mackenzie, “for a blind man, who thus adds a scene to the drama of his society.” We have already alluded to his skill in composition, which was begun early at least, if it was not very assiduously cultivated. There is a specimen of his abilities in this way in the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* for 1774, under the title of “Absence, a Pastoral, set to music, by Dr Blacklock.”

Blacklock's friendship with Beattie commenced about a year after his return from Kirkcudbright to Edinburgh. The first letter from the opponent of Hume, dated in 1765, expresses satisfaction that the present of a copy of our author's poems had at last afforded the opportunity of establishing an acquaintance. The correspondence was for some time kept up with great regularity by Beattie, who, when the composition of the “Minstrel” had not advanced beyond a few stanzas, explained his plan to the blind bard. The progress of a work of still greater importance was confided to Blacklock. The “*Essay on the Immutability of*

² He occupied the two upper flats of a house at the west end of West Nicolson Street, looking towards St Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease burying ground.

Moral Sentiment" having been perused and approved by him, the more extensive plan and object of the "Essay on Truth" was also disclosed; and that he was pleased with the design, and encouraged the author to proceed, may be understood from what afterwards took place: on the publication of the work, it was thought necessary, by Beattie's friends, that an analysis of it, giving a brief and popular view of the manner in which the subject was treated, should be inserted in the newspapers; and "this task," Sir William Forbes says, "Dr Blacklock undertook, and executed¹ with much ability." On Blacklock's part this literary intercourse was cultivated by allowing Beattie the perusal of a translation of the "Cenire" of D'Happoncourt de Grafigny, which he had made under the title of "Seraphina." This play was not intended to be either printed or brought on the stage; but the translator appears to have been under some apprehensions, in consequence of the proceedings in regard to "Douglas," that, if his having engaged in such a work should come to be known, it might draw upon him the censure of the church courts, or at least, of the more rigid ecclesiastics. We find Dr Beattie exhorting him not to be afraid of meeting with Mr Home's treatment; for that "to translate a dramatic poem could never be made to be on a footing with composing one and bringing it on the stage." This is but indifferent logic, we are afraid, and marvellously resembles that of certain schoolboys, who, ambitious of rendering their discourse more emphatic by the admixture of oaths, yet dreading to swear the common English kind, think themselves secure in adopting a few out of the learned languages, or in spelling if they do not pronounce them. Whether Blacklock was satisfied with his friend's reasoning, or if he took a different view of the case, and considered that, though there might be some risk, there was no harm in the dramatic form of composition, does not appear; but he ventured beyond translation, and actually wrote a tragedy, of which, however, the subject and merits are alike unknown, as it had been put into the hands of Mr Andrew Crosbie, advocate, and could never be recovered. It is probable that the suggestion of Dr Beattie procured for our author from the college of Aberdeen the degree of D. D. in 1767. After the publication of the "Essay on Truth" and of the "Minstrel" had introduced him to a literary acquaintance much more extensive than he previously enjoyed, we do not find that Beattie cultivated Blacklock's correspondence with the same assiduity as before; but he never ceased to love and respect him, which is manifested by the epitaph which the afflictions of his own later years did not prevent him from writing for his friend.

Finding that his increasing years and infirmities required repose, Dr Blacklock discontinued the keeping of boarders in 1787. But though his bodily vigour began to fail, he experienced no diminution of that benevolence which had ever characterised him. His own genius having been greatly indebted to patronage, he was ever ready to acknowledge it in others, and especially to cultivate and bring it into reputation where he found it struggling with obscurity. Nor were his efforts for this purpose confined to occasional acts of liberality—they were laborious and long-continued. He had taken a boy from a village near Carlisle to lead him, and perceiving in the youth a willingness to learn, taught him Latin, Greek, and French, and having thus fitted him for a station superior to that in which he was born, procured for him the situation of secretary to Lord Milton, who was chief active manager of state affairs in Scotland for many years. This young man was Richard Hewitt, known to the admirer of Scottish song as the author of "Roelin Castle." Hewitt testified his gratitude to his instructor by a copy of complimentary verses, in every line of which may be traced the chief excellence of compositions of that description—sincerity;

¹ Edinburgh Evening Courant, 2d June, 1770.

but he did not long enjoy his change of fortune, having died in 1764 from the fatigue of the office to which he had been elevated.

But we find a still more eminent example of Blacklock's solicitude to promote the interests of the sons of genius, in his being the first man among the literary circles of Edinburgh who appreciated the poetry of Burns, (perhaps, indeed, because he had the earliest opportunity of becoming acquainted with it,) and kindled in the author the ambition of a prize beyond that of provincial fame. The Rev. Mr Lawrie of Newmills had transmitted to Blacklock a copy of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns' poems. It is not easy for a modern reader to understand with what wonder and delight Blacklock must have perused them. In our time, the pleasure felt from his most perfect pieces is damped by the recollection of their author's melancholy fate. What reflecting mind can turn from the perusal of the "Mountain Daisy" with any other feeling than one of sorrow that Burns was not a better and a happier man? But while his career was yet to run, with what enviable anticipations must such a perusal have inspired a generous heart! Here was poetry the purest and most genuine: he who produced it was of no note; but to what a high place in his country's esteem might he not rise! The world was then all before him, and he capable of attaining whatever fame the most ardent imagination could desire. With calmness, yet with energy, the enthusiastic Blacklock indicated his own admiration and the certainty of the poet's future fame:—"many instances," he wrote to Mr Lawrie, "have I seen of nature's force and beneficence exerted under numerous and formidable disadvantages; but none equal to that with which you have been kind enough to present me. There is a pathos and delicacy in his serious poems, a vein of wit and humour in those of a more festive turn, which cannot be too much admired nor too warmly approved. I think I shall never open the book without feeling my astonishment renewed and increased.—It were much to be wished, for the sake of the young man, that a second edition, more numerous than the former, could immediately be printed; as it appears certain that its intrinsic merit, and the exertion of the author's friends, might give it a more universal circulation than any thing of the kind which has been published within my memory."—"I had taken the last farewell of my few friends," says Burns; "my chest was on the road to Greenock; I had composed the last song I should ever measure in Scotland.—'The Gloomy night is gathering fast'—when a letter from Dr Blacklock to a friend of mine overthrew all my schemes, by opening new prospects to my poetic ambition. The Doctor belonged to a set of critics for whose applause I had not dared to hope. His opinion that I would meet with encouragement in Edinburgh for a second edition, fired me so much, that away I posted for that city, without a single acquaintance, or a single letter of introduction."—"Blacklock received him," says Dr Currie, "with all the ardour of affectionate admiration; he eagerly introduced him to the respectable circle of his friends; he consulted his interest; he emblazoned his fame; he lavished upon him all the kindness of a generous and feeling heart, into which nothing selfish or envious ever found admittance."—"In Dr Blacklock," Burns himself writes to Mr Lawrie, "In Dr Blacklock, whom I see very often, I have found what I would have expected in our friend,—a clear head and an excellent heart." It is not our business, in this place, to trace Burns's career farther. Dr Blacklock's duty towards him was performed, when he had bestowed upon him every mark of private regard, and consigned him to the care of more influential patrons. After Burns retired to the country, some letters passed between them, which, on Dr Blacklock's part, show how very poorly a remarkably sensible man could write when he had little to say, and thought to compensate for the meagreness of his subject by elevating it into rhyme.

Besides the miscellaneous poems by which Dr Blacklock is best known as an author, he published several other works. In 1756 he gave to the world an "Essay towards Universal Etymology;" in 1760, "The Right Improvement of Time, a Sermon;" in the ensuing year another sermon, entitled "Faith, Hope, and Charity compared." In 1767 appeared his "Paraclesis; or Consolations deduced from Natural and Revealed Religion," in two dissertations, the first supposed to be Cicero's, translated by Dr Blacklock,—the other written by himself. This work, to use the author's own touching words, "was begun and pursued by its author, to divert wakeful and melancholy hours, which the recollection of past misfortunes, and the sense of present inconveniences, would otherwise have severely embittered." He endeavours, but without success, to prove the authenticity of the dissertation ascribed to Cicero, which he has translated with fidelity and elegance: the object of the original discourse is to prove the superiority of the consolations afforded by revealed religion. In 1768, he printed "Two Discourses on the Spirit and Evidences of Christianity," translated from the French of Mr James Armand. To this work he prefixed a long dedication to the Moderator of the General Assembly. In 1773 appeared his "Panegyric on Great Britain," which shows him to have possessed considerable talents for satire had he chosen to pursue that species of writing. His last production was in 1774, "The Graham, an Heroic Ballad, in Four Cantos;" intended to promote a good understanding between the natives of England and Scotland. He contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, in 1783, the article *Blind*—a little treatise of peculiar interest, which we have had occasion to quote in the present account of its author. He is also said to have written the *Essay on Poetry*, and others on various subjects in the same work. Dr Blacklock left behind him in manuscript some volumes of sermons, and a *Treatise on Morals*.

In his latter years our author was occasionally afflicted with deafness—in his case a double calamity, as at the periods when it visited him, he was in a manner shut out from all communication with the external world. In this forlorn condition—old, blind, and sometimes deaf—it was more difficult for him than formerly to bear up against the depression of spirits to which he had always been more or less subject; but his gentleness of temper never forsook him, and though he could not altogether avoid complaint, he was not loath to discover and state some alleviating circumstance along with it. He died from fever after a week's illness, on the 7th July, 1791, and was buried in the ground of St Cuthbert's Chapel of Ease, where there is a tombstone erected, with the following inscription by Dr Beattie:—"Viro Reverendo Thomas Blacklock, D. D.¹ Probo, Pio, Benevolo, Omnigenâ Doctrinâ Erudito, Poetæ sublimi; ab incunabulis usque oculis capto, at hilari, faceto, amicisque semper carissimo; qui natus xxi Novemb. mcccc. obiit vii Julii, mccccxi: Hoc Monumentum Vidua ejus Sara Johnston, merens P."

It has been said of Dr Blacklock that "he never lost a friend, nor made a foe;" and perhaps no literary man ever passed through life so perfectly free from envious feeling, and so entirely respected and beloved. His conversation was lively and entertaining; his wit was acknowledged, but it had no tinge of malice; his temper was gentle, his feelings warm—intense; his whole character was one to which may be applied the epithet amiable, without any qualification. We do not deny him the merit of this; but he was placed in circumstances favourable for the development of such a character: his blindness, together with his genius, prepossessed all in his favour, and procured him many

¹ The classical reader will easily detect a fault here—*Divinitatis* Doctor! which, it may be remarked, was also committed on one occasion by Dr Adam.

warm friends; while he was never in hazard of creating enemies, because, being incapacitated for any of the more active pursuits of life, his interests did not come into collision with those of any other aspirant in a similar path. He was thus enabled to "live pleasant," as far as his intercourse with the world was concerned. In his own mind, he did not at all times enjoy the cheerfulness which his excellent temper and his piety might seem to promise; he laboured under a depression of spirits, which grew upon him, as the buoyancy of youth and the energy of manhood declined. When we consider how much more we are liable to superstitious fears and alarms of every kind during the night than in the day, it does not appear surprising, that those condemned to ceaseless darkness should find it impossible to subdue their sense of loneliness and destitution. No variety of visible objects, no beauty of colour or grace of motion, ever diverts the mind of the blind man from brooding over its own phantasmata; the ear may be said to be the only inlet by which he can receive cheering ideas, and hence, when companionless, he becomes liable to the intrusion of doubts and dreads in an endless train. The bodily inactivity to which the want of sight compels him, and his exclusion from business, unhappily promote the same morbid sensibility; and though society may afford him many gleams of delight, the long hours of solitude bring back the prevailing gloom. From this disease of the mind, Dr Blacklock's varied stores of acquired knowledge, the native sweetness of his temper, and the tender cares of an affectionate wife, could not preserve him. It might be the cause of uneasiness to himself, however, but never influenced his behaviour to others; it made him melancholy, but not morose. Even they who look upon it as being, in ordinary instances, a fantastic and blameable weakness, must pity the present sufferer, in whom so many causes concurred to render it irremediable.

To Dr Blacklock as a poet, the rank of first-rate excellence has not been assigned, and is not claimed; but his works possess solid merits, which will always repay a perusal. The thoughts are, for the most part, vigorous, seldom less than just; and they are conveyed with a certain intensity of expression, which shows them, even when not uncommon in themselves, to be the offspring of a superior genius. As the productions of a blind man, they present a study of the very highest interest, and have frequently been viewed as a problem in the science of mind. The author himself seems to have been not unwilling to invest them with a certain character of mystery: "It is possible," he says, "for the blind, by a retentive memory, to tell you, that the sky is an azure; that the sun, moon, and stars, are bright; that the rose is red, the lily white or yellow, and the tulip variegated. By continually hearing these substantives and adjectives joined, he may be mechanically taught to join them in the same manner; but as he never had any sensation of colour, however accurately he may speak of coloured objects, his language must be like that of a parrot,—without meaning, or without ideas. Homer, Milton, and Ossian, had been long acquainted with the visible world before they were surrounded with clouds and ever-during darkness. They might, therefore, still retain the warm and pleasing impressions of what they had seen. Their descriptions might be animated with all the rapture and enthusiasm which originally fired their bosoms when the grand or delightful objects which they delineated were immediately beheld. Nay, that enthusiasm might still be heightened by a bitter sense of their loss, and by that regret which a situation so dismal might naturally inspire. But how shall we account for the same energy, the same transport of description, exhibited by those on whose minds visible objects were either never impressed, or have been entirely obliterated? Yet, however unaccountable this fact may appear, it is no less certain than extraordinary. But delicacy, and other particular circumstances, forbid us

to enter into this disquisition with that minuteness and precision which it requires."

"Mr Spence observes," says the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ "that Blacklock's notion of day may comprehend the ideas of warmth, variety of sounds, society, and cheerfulness; and his notion of night, the contrary ideas of chillness, silence, solitude, melancholy, and, occasionally, even of horror: that he substitutes the idea of glory for that of the sun; and of glory in a less degree for those of the moon and stars: that his idea of the beams of the sun may be composed of this idea of glory, and that of rapidity: that something of solidity, too, may perhaps be admitted both into his idea of light and darkness; but that what his idea of glory is, cannot be determined. Mr Spence also remarks, that Mr Blacklock may attribute paleness to grief, brightness to the eyes, cheerfulness to green, and a glow to gems and roses, without any determinate ideas; as boys at school, when, in their distress for a word to lengthen out a verse, they find *purpureus olor*, or *purpureum mare*, may afterwards use the epithet *purpureus* with propriety, though they know not what it means, and have never seen either a swan or the sea, or heard that the swan is of a light, and the sea of a dark colour. But he supposes, too, that Mr Blacklock may have been able to distinguish colours by his touch, and to have made a new vocabulary to himself, by substituting tangible for visible differences, and giving them the same names; so that green, with him, may seem something pleasing or soft to the touch, and red, something displeasing or rough. In defence of this supposition, it has been said, with some plausibility, that the same disposition of parts in the surfaces of

¹ We have already stated our belief that this writer was Dr Johnson. Besides the evidence which the passages quoted in the text afford, there is much of the spirit of Johnson in the summary of Blacklock's personal character: "This gentleman has one excellence which outvalues all genius, and all learning—he is truly and eminently a good man. He possesses great abilities with modesty, and wants almost every thing else with content." The probability is farther heightened by the kindness which Johnson manifested to Blacklock when he visited Scotland. On being introduced at Mr Boswell's, the English moralist "received him with a most humane complacency—'Dear Dr Blacklock, I am glad to see you!'" *Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides*. We are also told by Mr Boswell, that Dr Johnson, on his return from the Western Islands, breakfasted once at Dr Blacklock's house. We esteem the verbal criticism in the article we have just spoken of, as equally characteristic of the illustrious lexicographer: "Some passages," it is remarked, "appear to have something wrong in them at the first view, but upon a more accurate inspection, are found to be right, or at least only to be wrong as they reflect the faults of others." In these verses,

'What cave profound, what star sublime,
Shall hide me from thy boundless view,'

there seems to be an improper connexion of ideas; but the impropriety is in a great degree of our own making. We have joined ideas which Mr Blacklock, without any absurdity, has here separated. We have associated the idea of darkness with that of profundity; and a star being, as a luminous body, rather adapted to discover than to hide, we think the cave and the star, with their epithets, improperly opposed in this passage; but Mr Blacklock's idea included only distance: and as neither height nor depth, in the language of St Paul, can separate good men from the love of God; neither, says Mr Blacklock, can height or depth conceal any being from his sight. And that he did not here suppose concealment the effect of obscurity, appears plainly from the epithet boundless, which he has given to that view which he supposes to comprehend all height and depth, or, in other words, universal space. It must, however, be granted, that as height and depth are relative to a middle point, there is no proportion between the depth of a cave and the height of a star.

"There is certainly a mistake in the last line of this couplet:

'So fools their flocks to sanguine wolves resign,
So trust the cunning fox to prune the vine.'

But into this mistake he was perhaps led by the impropriety of the common fable of the fox and grapes, which we frequently quote, without reflecting that an inordinate love of grapes is falsely attributed to that animal: when the fox could not reach the grapes, he said they were sour. Blacklock explained this latter passage by saying, "that he alluded to that well-known passage of the Scripture: 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines; for our vines have tender grapes.' Cant. ii. 15."

bodies, which makes them reflect different rays of light, may make them feel as differently to the exquisite touch of a blind man. But there is so much difference in the tangible qualities of things of the same colour, so much roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness, arising from other causes, that it is more difficult to conceive how that minute degree arising from colour should be distinguished, than how a blind man should talk sensibly on the subject without having made such distinction. We cannot conceive how a piece of red velvet, woollen cloth, camblet, silk, and painted canvass, should have something in common, which can be distinguished by the touch, through the greatest difference in all qualities which the touch can discover; or in what mode green buckram should be more soft and pleasing to the touch than red velvet. If the softness peculiar to green be distinguished in the buckram, and the harshness peculiar to red in the velvet, it must be by some quality with which the rest of mankind are as little acquainted as the blind with colour. It may perhaps be said, that a blind man is supposed to distinguish colours by his touch, only when all things are equal. But if this be admitted, it would as much violate the order of his ideas to call velvet red, as to call softness harsh, or, indeed, to call green red; velvet being somewhat soft and pleasing to the touch, and somewhat soft and pleasing to the touch being his idea of green."

The acuteness of these remarks leaves us to regret that the author eluded the discussion of the most difficult part of the subject, and fixed upon that concerning which there is no dispute: Blacklock himself acknowledged what is here said about distinguishing colours by the touch, to be true as far as he was concerned, that being a nicety of perception which, though reported to be possessed by others, he in vain endeavoured to attain. "We have known a person," he says, in his article on Blindness, "who lost the use of his sight at an early period of infancy, who, in the vivacity or delicacy of his sensations, was not, perhaps, inferior to any one, and who had often heard of others in his own situation capable of distinguishing colours by touch with the utmost exactness and promptitude. Stimulated, therefore, partly by curiosity, to acquire a new train of ideas, if that acquisition were possible, but still more by incredulity with respect to the facts related, he tried repeated experiments by touching the surfaces of different bodies, and examining whether any such diversities could be found in them as might enable him to distinguish colours; but no such diversity could he ever ascertain. Sometimes, indeed, he imagined that objects which had no colour, or, in other words, such as were black, were somewhat different and peculiar in their surfaces; but this experiment did not always, nor universally hold."

But even supposing Dr Blacklock to have possessed the power of distinguishing colours by the touch, and that by handling the coat which he wore he could have told whether it was blue or black, the stock of ideas that he might thereby have obtained, would have contributed little to fit him for describing external nature. He could have formed no conception of a landscape from the representation of it on canvass, which, at the most, could only convey the idea of a plain surface covered with a variety of spots, some of which were smoother and more pleasant to the touch than others. The pomp of groves and garniture of fields would never have been disclosed to his yearning fancy by so slow and imperfect a process. Nor could his notions of scenery be much improved by whatever other conventional method he endeavoured to form them. Granting that he framed his idea of the sun upon the model of that of glory, it was still but an abstract idea, and could bring him no nearer to a distinct apprehension of the splendour with which light covers the face of the earth; nor could his idea of

the obscuration of glory enable him to understand the real nature of the appearances he describes when he says—

“Clouds peep on clouds, and as they rise,
Condense to solid gloom the skies.”

All these suppositions fail to afford a solution of the difficulty concerning the nature of his ideas of visible objects. In order to arrive at the proper explanation, let us inquire whence he derived them: that the sky is blue and the fields green, he could only learn from the descriptions of others. What he learned from others he might combine variously, and by long familiarity with the use of words, he might do so correctly, but it was from memory alone that he drew his materials. Imagination could not heighten his pictures by stores of any kind but those supplied by his recollection of books. We wonder, indeed, at the accurate arrangement of the different parts in his delineations, and that he should ever have been led to peruse what he could not by any possibility understand—how, for instance, he should have studied with ardour and delight such a work as the “Seasons,” the appreciation of whose beauties one would suppose to depend almost entirely on an acquaintance with the visible forms of creation. But when we consider how deeply he must have regretted the want of the most delightful of our senses, it will appear most natural, that he should strive by every means to repair the deficiency, and to be admitted to some share of the pleasure which he had heard that sight conveys. From his constant endeavours to arrive at some knowledge of the nature of visible objects, he obtained a full command of the language proper to them; and the correct application of what he thus learned, is all that can be claimed for the descriptive parts of his poetry. These never present any picture absolutely original, however pleasing it may be, and however much it may enhance the effect of the sentiment it is introduced to assist.

Besides the earlier notices of Mr Gilbert Gordon, of Spence, and, we may add, of Johnson, Blacklock's life has been written by Maekenzie with great elegance, by Chalmers, and by Dr Anderson. The last biographer mentions that “some memoirs of his life, written by himself, are now (1795) in the possession of Dr Beattie.” It is not improbable that this statement refers merely to the “long letter” from Blacklock to Beattie, already alluded to. If other documents of this kind were in the hands of the latter in 1795, as he had not thought proper to communicate them to any of Dr Blacklock's biographers, the probability is, that he would have retained them till his death, and that they would have appeared among his papers. Sir William Forbes, however, makes no mention of any such discovery; although, besides frequent allusions to him in the course of the life of Dr Beattie, he has, in the appendix to that work, given a brief sketch of that of Dr Blacklock. If such memoirs are, nevertheless, in existence, and could be recovered, they would form a most interesting addition to our stock of autobiography.

BLACKWELL, ALEXANDER and ELIZABETH, husband and wife. The former was brother to the more celebrated Dr Thomas Blackwell, the subject of the following article. His father, Thomas Blackwell, was at first minister of Paisley, whence he was removed, in 1700, to be one of the ministers of Aberdeen. He was there appointed to be Professor of Divinity in the Marischal college, and afterwards, in 1717, raised by the crown to the rank of Principal, which he held till his death in 1728. Alexander, his son, exhibited at an early period such symptoms of genius as induced his father to employ great personal care in his education. At fifteen, he was a perfect Greek and Latin scholar, and he afterwards distinguished himself very highly at college. It would appear that

his union to Elizabeth Blackwell, who was the daughter of a merchant at Aberdeen, took place under clandestine circumstances, and was connected with a step which gave a direction to all his future fortunes. This was a secret elopement to London, where he arrived before any of his friends knew where he was. Blackwell appears to have been a man of mercurial and adventurous temperament; possessing, with these qualities, exactly that degree of ability and accomplishment, which has enabled so many of his countrymen to prosecute a successful career in London. His first employment was that of corrector of the press to Mr Wilkins, an eminent printer. Afterwards, he was enabled to set up as a printer on his own account, and for this purpose he occupied a large house in the Strand. But he did not long pursue this business before an action was brought against him for not having served a regular apprenticeship to it. The unsuccessful defence of this action ruined him, and one of his creditors threw him into jail, where he remained two years.

Hitherto we hear nothing of his wife—and, perhaps, but for the misfortunes of the husband, the virtues of this noble woman might have only decorated a private station, and never emerged into the light of public fame. Like the flower, however, which blooms most by night, the better quality of woman's nature is chiefly developed under the cloud of sorrow; and it is only when the powers of man have been prostrated, or found of no avail, that her weakness shines forth in its real character—latent strength. Elizabeth Blackwell happened to possess a taste for drawing flowers;—a taste then so very rare, that there was hardly any engraved work in existence, containing representations of this interesting department of creation. The acknowledged want of a good herbal occurred to her as affording the means of exerting this gift in a useful way; and some of her first attempts being submitted to Sir Hans Sloane, Dr Mead, and other eminent physicians, she soon received sufficient encouragement to proceed in her work. A document, attesting their satisfaction with Mrs Blackwell's specimens, and recommending her contemplated work to public attention, was signed by six eminent physicians, including these gentlemen, and bears date, "October 1, 1735." By the advice of Mr Rand, an eminent apothecary, demonstrator to the Company of Apothecaries in the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, Mrs Blackwell hired a house near that establishment, where she had an opportunity of receiving the necessary flowers and plants in a fresh state, as she wanted them; she also received great encouragement and assistance from Mr Philip Miller, so well known for his publications connected with horticulture.

Mrs Blackwell not only made drawings of the flowers, but she also engraved them on copper, and coloured the prints with her own hands. Her husband lent all the aid in his power, by attaching the Latin names of the plants, together with a short account of their principal characters and uses, chiefly taken, by permission, from Miller's "*Botanicum Officinale*." The first volume of the work appeared in 1737, in large folio, containing two hundred and fifty-two plates, each of which is occupied by one distinct flower or plant; and was dedicated to Dr Mead, with the following address; "As the world is indebted to the encouragers of every public good, if the following undertaking should prove such, it is but justice to declare who have been the chief promoters of it; and as you was the first who advised its publication, and honoured it with your name, give me leave to tell the readers how much they are in your debt for this work, and to acknowledge the honour of your friendship." The second volume, completing the number of plates to five hundred, appeared in 1739, and was inscribed to Mr Rand, in an address breathing as fervent a spirit of gratitude, and acknowledging that, in her own ignorance of Botany, she was entirely obliged to him for the completeness of the work, so far as it went. The drawings are in gene-

ral faithful; and if there is wanting that accuracy which modern improvements have rendered necessary, in delineating the more minute parts, yet, upon the whole, the figures are sufficiently distinctive of the subjects. The style of the engravings is what would now be called *hard*, but it is fully on a level with the prevailing taste of the age; and, as a piece of labour, executed, it would appear, in the space of four years, by the hands of one woman, the whole work is entitled alike to our wonder and admiration. While Mrs Blackwell was proceeding in her task, she attracted the attention of many persons of eminent rank and character, and also a great number of scientific persons, who visited her at Chelsea, and afforded her many marks of kindness. On the completion of the first volume, she was permitted in person to present a copy to the College of Physicians, who acknowledged her extraordinary merit by a handsome present, as well as a testimonial, under the hands of the president and censors of the institution, characterising her work as "most useful," and recommending it to the public. It seems to have been at this period of her labours, that, after having all along supported her family by her own exertions, she was enabled to redeem her husband from confinement.

Blackwell, after his release, lived for some time at Chelsea with his wife, and, on her account, was much respected. He attempted to perfect himself in the study of physic, and also formed schemes for the improvement of waste lands. This latter subject he studied to such a degree, as to be enabled to write an agricultural treatise, which attracted some attention. Among his other occupations, for some time, was a prosecution which he entered into against some printsellers, for pirating his wife's botanical plates. By his success in this affair, he revenged in some measure the persecution to which he had been subjected for his inadvertent breach of another exclusive law. His agricultural knowledge gradually became known, and he was often consulted on difficult points connected with that science, and received handsome fees for his trouble. At one time he was employed by the Duke of Chandos in superintending some agricultural operations at Cannons. His work on agriculture, which was published at this time, recommended him to the attention of a still higher patronage—the Swedish ambassador, who, having transmitted a copy to his court, was directed to engage the author, if possible, to go to Stockholm. Blackwell accepted this engagement, and sailed for the Swedish capital, leaving his wife and one child in England, with a promise that he would soon send for them. He was received in the kindest manner at the court of Stockholm, was lodged in the house of the Prime Minister, and was allowed a pension. The king of Sweden happening soon after to be taken dangerously ill, Blackwell was permitted to prescribe for him, and had the good fortune to effect a cure. He was consequently appointed one of the king's physicians, and styled Doctor, though it does not appear that he ever took a degree in medicine. While enjoying all this good fortune, he was not forgetful of his wife, but sent her several sums of money, and she was on the point of sailing to join him at Stockholm, when all his prospects, and life itself, were overwhelmed at one blow. It is probable, from the character of his brother Thomas, that he was a fervent admirer of the principles of civil liberty. Nothing, moreover, can be more probable than that a man, accustomed to all the freedom of speech which is so harmlessly permitted in Britain, might not very readily accommodate himself to that prudence of the tongue which is demanded from the subjects of an arbitrary monarchy. It is at least certain, that he was apprehended on suspicion of being connected with a plot, which had been formed by one Count Tessin, for overturning the constitution of the kingdom, and altering the line of succession. Being put to the torture, he is alleged to have confessed a concern in this conspiracy. Every reader, how-

ever, will acknowledge, that confessions under the torture form historical documents of a very questionable nature. Being tried for his supposed offence before a royal commission, he was sentenced to be broken alive on the wheel, and put to the death of a traitor. In the course of his trial, some imputations were thrown upon his Britannic Majesty, for which, in conjunction with other circumstances, the British ambassador was recalled from Stockholm. The unfortunate Blackwell was executed, July 29th, 1747, but not, it would appear, with the tortures assigned by his sentence. On the scaffold, he protested to the people his entire innocence of the crimes laid to his charge, and, as the best proof of what he stated, pointed out his utter want of all motive for engaging in an attempt against the government. He prayed with great devotion, but happening to lay his head wrong upon the block, he remarked good-humouredly, that, as this was his first experiment, no wonder he required a little instruction. The date of Mrs Blackwell's death is not ascertained.¹ Her work was afterwards republished on the continent.

BLACKWELL, THOMAS, the restorer of Greek literature in the North of Scotland, and a learned writer of the eighteenth century, was brother to the subject of the preceding article. He was born at Aberdeen, August 4th, 1701, and after receiving the rudiments of his education at the Grammar School of his native city,² entered his academical course at the Marischal College, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1718. A separate professorship of Greek had not existed in this seminary previous to 1700, and the best of the ancient languages was at that period very little cultivated in Scotland. Blackwell, having turned his attention to Greek, was honoured, in 1723, when only twenty-two years of age, with a crown appointment to this chair. He entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office with the utmost ardour. It perfectly suited his inclination and habits. He was an enthusiastic admirer of the language and literature of Greece, and the whole bent of his studies was exclusively devoted to the cultivation of polite learning. He had the merit of rearing some very eminent Greek scholars, among whom may be mentioned Principal George Campbell, Dr Alexander Gerard, and Dr James Beattie. The last has borne ample testimony to the merit of his master, in his "Essay on the Utility of Classical Learning," where he styles Principal Blackwell "a very learned author."

Dr Blackwell first appeared before the public, as an author, in 1737. His Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer was published at London during the course of that year, but without his name. It has been positively affirmed

¹ Soon after the death of Blackwell, appeared "a genuine copy of a letter from a merchant in Stockholm, to his correspondent in London, containing an impartial account of Dr Alexander Blackwell, his plot, trial, character, and behaviour, both under examination and at the place of execution, together with a copy of a paper delivered to a friend upon the scaffold, in which he denied the crime imputed to him." This publication does not appear to have been genuine, and as it contains some particulars of the life of Blackwell totally at variance with the above more authentic and probable account, which is chiefly derived from a letter signed G. J. and dated from Bath, in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1747, we have entirely rejected it. This spurious work is, nevertheless, chiefly used by Mr Nichols, in an account of Blackwell given in the Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century.

² The history of the origin of what are technically, in Scotland, denominated *Grammar Schools*, is involved in considerable obscurity. The probability is, that they were in most cases founded by generous individuals, who wished well to the cause of literature, and who, to secure that proper care should be taken in the management of the funds by which the establishment was supported, vested the money appropriated for that purpose in some public body, or corporation. It does not admit of a doubt, that this took place in several of the principal Scottish burghs; but it is very singular, that those schools were limited to the Latin language alone. This proceeded from the dread that there was a design in the founders of such seminaries to supersede Universities, where Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were taught. The Grammar School of Aberdeen was founded by Dr Patrick Dun, Principal of Marischal College, who was a native of the city, and had resided at Padua, where he took his degree of Doctor of Medicine.

with what truth it is impossible to say, that its being anonymous, was in imitation of Lord Shaftesbury, of whom he was a warm admirer, and whose works were published after that manner. The style, also, is vitiated by a perpetual effort at the Shaftesburian vein, which is, perhaps, the principal fault in the writings of Blackwell. A second edition of the work appeared in 1746, and shortly after, "Proofs of the Inquiry into Homer's Life and Writings." These proofs chiefly consisted of a translation of the Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, and French notes subjoined to the original work. The *Inquiry* contains a great deal of research, as well as a display of miscellaneous learning. Perhaps its principal defect consists in the author's discovering an over anxiety in regard to both; at least, he has not been sufficiently careful to guard against the imputation of sometimes going out of his way to show what labour he had bestowed in examining every source of information, both ancient and modern, foreign and domestic. Though the life of Homer has been written by Herodotus, by Plutarch, and by Suidas, among the Greeks, and by an innumerable host of writers scattered through other nations, yet there is hardly one point in his history about which they are agreed, excepting the prodigious merit of his poems, and the sophist Zoilus would not even grant this. How great uncertainty prevailed respecting the time and place of his birth, abundantly appears from seven Grecian cities contending in regard to the latter point. When the field was so extensive, and so great diversity of opinion prevailed, it cannot fail to be perceived how arduous an enterprise Dr Blackwell had undertaken. His criticisms on the poems themselves are always encomiastic, often ingenious, and delivered in language that can give no reasonable ground of offence. The work will be read with both pleasure and profit by all who are prepared to enter upon such inquiries. It is generally esteemed the best of his performances.

He published, in 1748, "Letters concerning Mythology," without his name also. In the course of the same year, he was advanced to be principal of his College, succeeding Dr John Osborne, who died upon the 19th of August. Dr Blackwell, however, was not admitted to the exercise of his new office till the subsequent 9th of November. The first object of his attention respected the discipline of the College. Great irregularities had crept into the institution, not in his predecessor's time only, but probably almost from its foundation. Through the poverty of the generality of the students in those days, their attendance, short as the session was allowed to be, was very partial; to correct this, he considered to be indispensably necessary. Accordingly, about the middle of October, 1749, previous to the commencement of the session, an advertisement in the public papers informed the students, that a more regular attendance was to be required. This, it would appear, did not produce the intended effect. Accordingly, to show that the Principal and Professors were perfectly in earnest when they gave this public notice, three of the Bursars who had not complied with the terms of the advertisement, were, on the 10th of November, expelled. This decision gave general satisfaction, and indeed deserved high commendation.

But, that the Professors themselves might be more alert and attentive to their duty, he revived a practice which, it is likely, had at an early period been common, for every Professor in the University to deliver a discourse in the public school upon some subject connected with his profession. He himself set the example, and delivered his first oration upon the 7th of February, 1749. When Blackwell was promoted to the principality, instead of sinking in indolence, he seems to have considered it rather as affording an excitement to exertion. In February, 1750, he opened a class for the instruction of the students in ancient history, geography, and chronology. Prelections on these branches of education,

he thought necessary to render more perfect the course at Marischal College. He, therefore, himself undertook the task. The design of his opening this class evidently was to pave the way for the introduction of a new plan of teaching into Marischal College, which, accordingly, he soon after accomplished. At the commencement of the session 1752, public notice was given that, "the Principal, Professors, and Masters, having long had under their consideration the present method of academical education, the plan of which, originally introduced by the scholastic divines in the darkest times, is more calculated for disputes and wrangling than to fit men for the duties of life, therefore have resolved to introduce a new order in teaching the sciences." The order which was then adopted, is what still continues in force in that University. Three years afterwards, when the new plan had been put to the trial for as many sessions, the faculty of the college ordered an account of the plan of education which was followed to be printed. This formed a pamphlet of thirty-five pages. It concludes thus:—"They have already begun to experience the public approbation by the increase of the number of their students." So that he had the agreeable pleasure of witnessing the success of the plan he had proposed.

In 1752 he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and in the subsequent year, was published, in quarto, the first volume of "Memoirs of the Court of Augustus." A second volume appeared in 1755, and a third, which was posthumous, and left unfinished by the author, was prepared for the press by John Mills, Esq. and published in 1764. In this work, the author has endeavoured to give an account of Roman literature as it appeared in the Augustan age, and he has executed the task with no small share of success. Objections might easily be started to some of his theories and opinions, but every classical scholar who is fond of literary history will peruse the work with pleasure as well as profit.

Dr Blackwell died, at Edinburgh, upon the 6th of March, 1757. He was certainly a very extraordinary person, and like every man of acknowledged talents, formed a very general subject of conversation. He was formal, and even pompous. His dress was after the fashion of the reign of Queen Anne. The portly mien and dignified manner in which he stepped through the public school, impressed all the students with a deep sense of his professional importance. He was, nevertheless, kind and indulgent to them, and of a benevolent disposition. He left a widow, but no children. Mrs Blackwell, in 1793, founded a chemical professorship in Marischal College, and appointed a premium of ten pounds sterling to be annually bestowed on the person who should compose, and deliver, in the English language, the best discourse upon a given literary subject.

BLACKWOOD, ADAM, a learned writer of the sixteenth century, was born at Dunfermline, in 1539. He was descended from an ancient and respectable family; his father, William Blackwood, was slain in battle ere he was ten years of age, (probably at Pinkie-field); his mother, Helen Reid, who was niece to Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, died soon after, of grief for the loss of her husband. By his uncle, the Bishop, he was sent to the university of Paris, but was soon obliged to return, on account of the death of his distinguished relation. Scotland, at this time, was undergoing the agonies of the reformation, under the regency of Mary of Lorraine. Blackwood found it no proper sphere for his education; and therefore soon returned to Paris, where, by the liberality of his youthful sovereign, Queen Mary, then residing at the court of France, he was enabled to complete his studies, and to go through a course of civil law at the university of Thoulouse. Having now acquired some reputation for learning and talent, he was patronized by James Beaton, the expatriated Archbishop of Glasgow, who recommended him very warmly to Queen Mary and her husband, the

Dauphin, by whose influence he was chosen a member of the parliament of Poitiers, and afterwards appointed to be professor of civil law at that court.

Poitiers was henceforth the constant residence of Blackwood, and the scene of all his literary exertions. His first work was one entitled, "*De Vinculo Religionis et Imperii, Libri Duo*," Paris, 1575, to which a third book was added in 1612. The object of this work is to show the necessity under which rulers are laid, of preserving the true—i. e. the Catholic, religion, from the innovations of heretics, as all rebellions arise from that source. Blackwood, by the native tone of his mind, the nature of his education, and the whole train of his associations, was a faithful adherent of the church of Rome, and of the principles of monarchical government. His next work developed these professions in a more perfect manner. It was entitled, "*Apologia pro Regibus*," and professed to be an answer to George Buchanan's work, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*." Both of these works argue upon extreme and unfair principles. Buchanan seeks to apply to the simple feudal government of Scotland—a monarchical aristocracy—all the maxims of the Roman republicans. Blackwood, on the other hand, is a slavishly devout advocate for the divine right of kings. In replying to one of Buchanan's positions, the apologist of kings says, very gravely, that if one of the scholars at St Leonard's College were to argue in that manner, he would richly deserve to be whipt. Both of the above works are in Latin. He next published, in French, an account of the death of his benefactress, Queen Mary, under the title, "*Martyre de Maria Stuart, Reyne d'Ecosse*," Antwerp, 8vo., 1588. This work is conceived in a tone of bitter resentment regarding the event to which it refers. He addresses himself, in a vehement strain of passion, to all the princes of Europe, to avenge her death; declaring that they are unworthy of royalty, if they are not roused on so interesting and pressing an occasion. At the end of the volume, is a collection of poems in Latin, French, and Italian, upon Mary and Elizabeth; in which the former princess is praised for every excellence, while her murderess is characterised by every epithet expressive of indignation and hate. An anagram was always a good weapon in those days of conceit and false taste; and one which we find in this collection was no doubt looked upon as a most poignant stab at the Queen of England:

ELIZABETHA TEUDERA
VADE, JESSEKEL TETRA.

In 1598, Blackwood published a manual of devotions under the title, "*Sanctarum precatonum proemia*," which he dedicated to his venerable patron, the Archbishop of Glasgow. The cause of his writing this book was, that by reading much at night he had so weakened his eyes, as to be unable to distinguish his own children at the distance of two or three yards: in the impossibility of employing himself in study, he was prevailed upon, by the advice of the Archbishop, to betake himself to a custom of nocturnal prayer, and hence the composition of this book. In 1606, Blackwood published a Latin poem on the inauguration of James VI., as king of Great Britain. In 1609, appeared at Poitiers, a complete collection of his Latin poems. He died, in 1623, in the 74th year of his age, leaving four sons (of whom one attained to his own senatorial dignity in the parliament of Poitiers), and seven daughters. He was most splendidly interred in St Porcharius church at Poitiers, where a marble monument was reared to his memory, charged with a long panegyric epitaph. In 1644, appeared his "*Opera Omnia*," in one volume 4to., edited by the learned Naudeus, who prefixes an elaborate eulogium upon the author. Blackwood was not only a man of consummate learning and great genius, but is allowed to have also fulfilled, in life, all the duties of a good man.

BLACKWOOD, HENRY, brother to the subject of the preceding article, and his senior by some years, was educated under nearly similar circumstances, and, in 1551, taught philosophy in the university of Paris. Having afterwards applied himself to the study of medicine, he rose to be dean of that faculty at Paris, an office of the very highest dignity which could then be reached by a member of the medical profession. He appears to have been one of the earliest modern physicians who gave a sanction to the practice of letting blood. He published various treatises on medicine, and also upon philosophy, of which a list is preserved in Mackenzie's *Lives of Scots Writers*. He acted at one time as physician to the Duke of Longueville, with a salary of two hundred pistoles. At another time, when the plague prevailed at Paris, he remained in the city, and exerted himself so zealously in the cure of his numerous patients, as to gain universal applause. He died, in 1613 or 1614, at a very advanced age.

BLACKWOOD, WILLIAM, an eminent publisher, and originator of the magazine which bears his name, was born in Edinburgh, November 20, 1776, of parents who, though in humble circumstances, bore a respectable character, and were able to give this and their other children an excellent elementary education. At the age of fourteen, he commenced an apprenticeship with Messrs Bell and Bradfute, booksellers in his native city, with whom he continued six years. During this time, he stored his mind with a large fund of miscellaneous reading, which was of great service to him in after life. It is probable that he at the same time manifested no common talents for business, as, soon after the expiration of his apprenticeship, [1797,] he was selected by Messrs J. Mundell and Company, then carrying on an extensive publishing business in the Scottish capital, to take the charge of a branch of their concern which they had resolved to establish in Glasgow. Mr Blackwood acted as the Glasgow agent of Mundell and Company for a year, during which time he improved greatly as a man of business. Thrown in a great measure upon his own resources, he here acquired habits of decision, such as are rarely formed at so early an age, and which were afterwards of the greatest importance to him. Having also occasion to write frequently to his constituents, he formed a style for commercial correspondence, the excellence of which was a subject of frequent remark in his later years.

At the end of the year, when the business he had conducted at Glasgow was given up, Mr Blackwood returned to Messrs Bell and Bradfute, with whom he continued about a year longer. He then (1800) entered into partnership with Mr Robert Ross, a bookseller of some standing, who also acted as an auctioneer of books. Not long after, finding the line of business pursued by Mr Ross uncongenial to his taste, he retired from the partnership, and, proceeding to London, placed himself, for improvement in the antiquarian department of his trade, under Mr Cuthill. Returning once more to Edinburgh in 1804, he set up on his own account in a shop in South Bridge street, where for several years he confined his attention almost exclusively to the department just alluded to, in which he was allowed to have no rival of superior intelligence in Scotland. The catalogue of old books which he published in 1812, being the first of the kind in which the books were classified, and which referred to a stock of uncommon richness and variety, continues till the present day to be a standard authority for the prices of old books. At this period of his career, Mr Blackwood became agent for several of the first London publishing houses, and also began to publish extensively for himself. In 1816, having resolved to throw a larger share of his energies into the latter department of business, he sold off his stock of old books, and removed to a shop in the New Town, soon to become one of the most memorable localities connected with modern literary history.

For a considerable time, Mr Blackwood had been of opinion that something like the same regeneration which the Edinburgh Review had given to periodical criticism, might be communicated to that species of miscellaneous literature which chiefly assumed the monthly form of publication. At this time, the Scots Magazine of his native city, which had never pretended to any merit above that of a correct register, was scarcely in any respect more flat and insipid than the publications of the same kind in London. It was reserved for the original and energetic mind of the subject of this memoir, to raise this department of popular literature from the humble state in which it had hitherto existed, or to which, when we recollect the labours of Johnson and Goldsmith, we may rather say it had sunk, and to place it on the eminence for which it was evidently fitted. The first number of Blackwood's Magazine appeared in April, 1817, and, though bearing more resemblance to preceding publications of the same kind than it afterwards assumed, the work was from the first acknowledged by the public to possess superior merit. The publishers of the elder magazines made an almost immediate, though indirect confession to this effect, by attempts to put new and more attractive faces upon their publications, and stimulate the lagging energies of those who conducted them. The two young men who were chiefly engaged upon the work of Mr Blackwood, having disagreed with him, were employed by Mr Constable to take the charge of the Scots Magazine, which he, like others in similar circumstances, was endeavouring to resuscitate from the slumbers of a century. Mr Blackwood was already more than independent of these gentlemen, in consequence of the aid which he was receiving from other quarters; but bitter feelings had nevertheless been engendered, and these found vent, through the fancy of some of his new contributors, in the celebrated article in the seventh number of his magazine, styled "Translation of a Chaldee Manuscript." In this *jeu d'esprit*, the circumstances of the late feud, and the efforts of Mr Constable to repair the fortunes of his ancient magazine, were thrown into a form the most burlesque that ever imagination conceived, though certainly with very little of the ill nature which the article unfortunately excited in the most of those who figured in it. In consequence of the painful feelings to which it gave rise, Mr Blackwood cancelled it from all the copies within his reach; and it is now, consequently, very rarely to be met with.

Blackwood's Magazine, as already hinted, had not been in progress for many months, before it obtained the support of new and unexpected talent. Mr John Wilson, already distinguished by his beautiful poetry, and Mr John G. Lockhart, whose more regular, though perhaps less brilliant genius has since found a fitting field in the management of the Quarterly Review, were at this time young men endeavouring to make their way at the Scottish bar. Having formed an attachment to Mr Blackwood, they threw into his literary repertory the overflowing bounties of two minds, such as rarely rise singly, and much more rarely together; and soon enchained the attention of the public to a series of articles not more remarkable for their ability, than for an almost unexampled recklessness of humour and severity of sarcasm. It is not to be denied that much offence was thus occasionally given to the feelings of individuals; but, in extenuation of any charge which can be rested on such grounds, it may be pointed out that, while Mr Blackwood had his own causes of complaint in the ungenerous hostility of several of his commercial brethren, the whimsical genius of his contributors had unquestionably found a general provocation in the overweening pretensions and ungracious deportment of several of their literary seniors, some of whom had, in their own youth, manifested equal causticity, with certainly no greater show of talent. To these excuses must be added the relative one of

politics. Mr Blackwood from the first took a strong part with the existing Tory government, which in Edinburgh had been powerfully supported heretofore in every manner except by the pen, while the opposition had long possessed a literary organ of the highest authority. In treating, therefore, of some of the juvenile indiscretions of this extraordinary work, and those connected with it, we must, if willing to preserve impartiality, recollect the keenness with which politics and political men were then discussed.

In the management of the magazine, Mr Blackwood at all times bore in his own person the principal share. The selection of articles, the correspondence with contributors, and other duties connected with editorship, were performed by him during a period of seventeen years, with a degree of skill, on which it is not too much to say that no small portion of the success of the work depended. In its earlier years he contributed two or three articles himself; but to this, as a *practice*, he had a decided objection, as he could easily perceive that an editor, especially one like himself not trained to letters, is apt to be biased respecting his own compositions. It may easily be conceived, however, that, in the management of the literary and mercantile concerns of such a work, there was sufficient employment for even a man of his extraordinary energies. And no small praise must it ever be to the subject of this brief memoir, that, during so long a period, he maintained in his work so much of the vivid spirit with which it set out; kept up so unfailing a succession of brilliant articles in general literature, altogether exclusive of the regular papers of Mr Wilson,—as if he were exhausting mind after mind among the literary men of his country, and still at no loss to discover new; and never, throughout his whole career, varied in a single page from the political key-note which he had struck at the commencement. To have done these things, and with so much apparent ease to himself, and so little ostentation,—for these were features in his masterly career—argues in our opinion a character of unwonted vigour, as well as no small share of intellectual power.

The magazine eventually reached a circulation not much short of ten thousand copies, and, while reprinted in North America, found its way from the publisher's warehouse into every other part of the world where the English language was spoken. Notwithstanding the great claims it made upon his time, Mr Blackwood continued till his death to transact a large share of business as a general publisher. Not long before that event, he completed the Edinburgh Encyclopedia in eighteen volumes quarto, and, among his other more important publications, may be reckoned Kerr's Collection of Voyages and Travels, in eighteen volumes octavo. The chief distinct works of Messrs Wilson, Lockhart, Hogg, Moir, Galt, and other eminent persons connected with his magazine, and some of the writings of Sir Walter Scott, were published by Mr Blackwood. He also continued till the close of his career to carry on an extensive trade in retail bookselling.

Mr Blackwood died, September 16, 1834, after a painful illness of four months. His disease, a tumour in the groin, had in that time exhausted his physical energies, but left his temper calm and unruffled, and his intellect entire and vigorous even to the last.

In the words of his obituarist, "No man ever conducted business in a more direct and manly manner than Mr Blackwood. His opinion was on all occasions distinctly expressed; his questions were ever explicit; his answers conclusive. His sincerity might sometimes be considered as rough, but no human being ever accused him either of flattering or of shuffling; and those men of letters who were in frequent communication with him, soon conceived a respect and confidence for him, which, save in a very few instances, ripened

into cordial regard and friendship. The masculine steadiness, and imperturbable resolution of his character, were impressed on all his proceedings; and it will be allowed by those who watched him through his career, as the publisher of a literary and political miscellany, that these qualities were more than once very severely tested. He dealt by parties exactly as he did by individuals. Whether his principles were right or wrong, they were *his*, and he never compromised or complimented away one tittle of them. No changes, either of men or of measures, ever dimmed his eye, or checked his courage."

Mr Blackwood was twice a magistrate of his native city, and in that capacity distinguished himself by an intrepid zeal in the reform of burgh management, singularly in contrast with his avowed sentiments respecting constitutional reform.

BLAIR, HUGH, D.D. one of the most eminent divines and cultivators of polite literature, of the eighteenth century, was born at Edinburgh, April 7, 1718. His father, John Blair, a merchant of Edinburgh, and who at one time occupied a respectable office in the magistracy, was grandson to Robert Blair, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, whose life is commemorated in its proper place in this work. John Blair was thus cousin-german to the author of the *Grave*, whose life follows, in the present work, that of his distinguished ancestor. John Blair, having impaired his fortune by engaging in the South Sea scheme, latterly held an office in the excise. He married Martha Ogston, and the first child of this marriage was the subject of the following memoir.

Hugh Blair was early remarked by his father to possess the seeds of genius. For this reason, joined to a consideration, perhaps, of his delicate constitution, he was educated for the church. He commenced his academic career at the university of Edinburgh, October, 1730, and as his weakly health disabled him from enjoying the usual sports of boyhood, his application to study was very close. Among the numerous testimonies to his proficiency, which were paid by his instructors, one deserves to be particularly mentioned, as, in his own opinion, it determined the bent of his genius towards polite literature. An essay, *Περὶ τοῦ καλοῦ*, that is, upon the *BEAUTIFUL*,¹ written by him when a student of logic in the usual course of academical exercises, had the good fortune to attract the notice of professor Stevenson, and, with circumstances honourable to the author, was appointed to be read in public at the conclusion of the session. This mark of distinction, which occurred in his sixteenth year, made a deep impression on his mind; and the essay which merited it, he ever after recollected with partial affection, and preserved to the day of his death, as the first earnest of his fame.

At this time Dr Blair commenced a method of study, which contributed much to the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, and which he continued to practise occasionally even after his reputation was fully established. It consisted in making abstracts of the most important works which he read, and in digesting them according to the train of his own thoughts. History, in particular, he resolved to study in this manner; and in concert with some of his youthful associates, he constructed a very comprehensive scheme of chronological tables, for receiving into its proper place every important fact which should occur. The scheme devised by this young student for his own private use was afterwards improved, filled up, and given to the public, by his learned relative Dr John Blair, Prebendary of Westminster, in his valuable work, "*The Chronology and History of the World*."

¹ A technical Greek phrase, expressing the abstract idea of the perfection of beauty in objects of taste. A devotion to the "*To kalon*" in that nation, was similar to what the moderns understand by a correct taste.

In 1739, on taking the degree of Master of Arts, Blair printed his thesis, "*De Fundamentis et Obligatione Legis Naturæ*," which contains a brief outline of these moral principles afterwards developed in his sermons, and displays the first dawnings of that virtuous sensibility, by which he was at all periods of his public life so highly distinguished. On the 21st of October, 1741, he was licensed as a preacher by the presbytery of Edinburgh, and soon began, in the usual manner, to exhibit himself occasionally in the pulpit. Heretofore, the only popular style of preaching in Scotland was that of the evangelical party, which consisted chiefly in an impassioned address to the devotional feelings of the audience. The *moderate* party, who were of course least popular, had neither lost the practice of indulging in tedious theological disquisitions, nor acquired that of expatiating on the moral duties. The sermons of this young licentiate, which presented sound practical doctrines, in a style of language almost unknown in Scotland, struck the minds of the audience as something quite new. In the course of a very few months, his fame had travelled far beyond the bounds of his native city. A sermon which he preached in the West Church, produced an extraordinary impression, and was spoken of in highly favourable terms to the Earl of Leven. His lordship accordingly presented the preacher to the parish church of Colesie in Fife, which happened to be then vacant. He was ordained to this charge, September 23, 1742, but was not long permitted to labour in so confined a scene. In a few months, he was brought forward by his friends as candidate for the second charge of the church of Canongate, which may almost be considered a metropolitan situation. In the popular election which followed, he was successful against a very formidable competitor, Mr Robert Walker, then a favourite preacher. He was inducted to this charge, July 14, 1743, when he had little more than completed his twenty-fifth year. On the occasion of the insurrection of 1745, Blair preached a sermon, in the warmest strain of loyalty to the existing government, and which he afterwards printed. During the eleven years which he spent in the Canongate, his sermons attracted large audiences from the adjoining city, and were alike admired for their eloquence and piety. They were composed with uncommon care; and, occupying a middle place between the dry metaphysical discussion of one class of preachers, and the loose incoherent declamation of the other, they blended together in the happiest manner the light of argument with the warmth of exhortation, and exhibited captivating specimens of what had hitherto been rarely heard in Scotland, the polished, well-compacted, and regular didactic oration.

On the 11th of October, 1754, he was called by the town council of Edinburgh to accept of one of the city charges, that of Lady Yester's church, and on the 15th of June, 1758, he was promoted by the same body to the highest situation attainable by a Scottish clergyman, one of the charges of the High Church. This latter removal took place, according to the records of the town-council, "because they had it fully ascertained, that his translation would be highly acceptable to persons of the most distinguished character and eminent rank in this country, who had seats in said church." In truth, this place of worship might have been styled, in the absence of an episcopal system, the *metropolitan* church of Scotland. In it sat the lords of Session, and all the other great law and state officers, besides the magistrates and council, and a large congregation of the most respectable inhabitants of the town. It might now, therefore, be said, that the eloquence of Blair had at last reached a fit theatre for its display. In the year previous to this last translation, he had been honoured by the university of St Andrews with the degree of D. D. which was then very rare in Scotland.

Hitherto, Blair's attention seems to have been chiefly devoted to his profession.

No production of his pen had yet been given to the world by himself, except two sermons preached on particular occasions, some translations of passages of Scripture, for the psalmody of the church, and the article on Hutcheson's system of Moral Philosophy for the *Edinburgh Review*, a periodical work begun in 1755, by Hume, Robertson, and others, and which only extended to two numbers. Standing, as he now did, at the head of his profession, and released by the labour of former years from the drudgery of weekly preparation for the pulpit, he began to think seriously on a plan for teaching to others the art which had contributed so much to his own fame. Some years before, Dr Adam Smith had delivered in Edinburgh a series of lectures on rhetoric and elegant literature, which had been well received. In 1759, Dr Blair commenced, with the approbation of the university, a course upon the principles of literary composition. The most zealous friends to this undertaking were David Hume and Lord Kames, the latter of whom had devoted much attention to the subject. The approbation bestowed upon the lectures was so very high, and their fame became so generally diffused, that the town-council resolved to institute a rhetorical class in the university, under his direction; and, in 1762, this professorship was taken under the protection of the crown, with a salary of seventy pounds a year. Dr Blair continued to deliver his lectures annually till 1783, when he published them for the more extensive benefit of mankind. They are not by any means, nor were they ever pretended to be, a profound or original exposition of the laws of the belles lettres. They are acknowledged to be a compilation from many different sources, and only designed to form a simple and intelligible code for the instruction of youth in this department of knowledge. Regarded in this light, they are entitled to very high praise, which has accordingly been liberally bestowed by the public. These lectures have been repeatedly printed, and still remain an indispensable monitor in the study of every British scholar.

In 1763, Dr Blair made his first appearance before the world as an author or critic. He had, in common with his friend John Home, taken a deep interest in the exertions of Macpherson, for the recovery of the Highland traditionary poetry. Relying without suspicion upon the faith of the collector, he prefixed to the "*Poems of Ossian*" a dissertation pointing out the beauties of those compositions. The labour must of course be now pronounced in a great measure useless; but nevertheless it remains a conspicuous monument of the taste of Dr Blair.

It was not till 1777, that he could be prevailed upon to offer to the world any of those sermons with which he had so long delighted a private congregation. We have his own authority for saying that it was his friend Lord Kames who was chiefly instrumental in prompting him to take this step. For a long period, hardly any sermons published either in England or Scotland, had met with success. The public taste seemed to have contracted an aversion to this species of composition. We are informed by Boswell in his life of Johnson, that when Blair transmitted a volume to Mr Strahan, the King's printer, that gentleman, after letting it lie beside him for some time, returned a letter discouraging the publication. It is probable that this opinion, which seems to have been given only on general grounds, might have caused Dr Blair to abandon his intention; but fortunately, Mr Strahan had sent one of the sermons to Dr Johnson for his opinion, and after his unfavourable letter to Dr Blair had been sent off, he received from Johnson, on Christmas eve, 1776, a note, of which the following is a paragraph: "I have read over Dr Blair's first sermon, with more than approbation; to say it is good is to say too little." Mr Strahan had very soon after this time a conversation with Dr Johnson, concerning the sermons; and then he very candidly wrote again to Dr Blair, enclosing Johnson's note, and agreeing

to purchase the volume, with Mr Cadell, for one hundred pounds. The sale was so rapid and extensive, and the approbation of the public so high, that, to their honour be it recorded, the proprietors made Dr Blair a present, first of one sum, and afterwards of another, of fifty pounds; thus voluntarily doubling the stipulated price. Perhaps, in no country, not even in his own, were these compositions so highly appreciated as in England. There they were received with the keenest relish, not only on account of their abstract excellence, but partly from a kind of surprise as to the quarter from which they came—no devotional work, produced by Scotland, having ever before been found entitled to much attention in the southern section of the island. The volume speedily fell under the attention of George III., and his virtuous consort, and was by them very highly admired. His majesty, with that wise and sincere attention to the interests of religion and virtue, which has given to his reign a respectability above all that military or political glory can purchase, was graciously pleased to judge the author worthy of a public reward. By a royal mandate to the exchequer in Scotland, dated July 25, 1780, a pension of £300 a-year, was bestowed on Dr Blair. It is said that the sermons were first read in the royal closet, by the Earl of Mansfield; and there is little reason to doubt that they were indebted in some degree to the elocution of the “elegant Murray” for the impression which they produced upon the royal family.

During the subsequent part of his life, Dr Blair published three other volumes of sermons; and it might safely be said that each successive publication only tended to deepen the impression produced by the first. These compositions, which were translated into almost every language in Europe, formed only a small part of the discourses which he prepared for the pulpit. The number of those which remained, was creditable to his professional character, and exhibited a convincing proof that his fame as a public teacher had been honourably purchased, by the most unwearied application to the private and unseen labours of his office. Out of his remaining manuscripts, he had prepared a fifth volume, which appeared after his death; the rest, according to an explicit injunction in his will, were committed to the flames. The last sermon which he composed was one in the fifth volume, “on a life of dissipation and pleasure.” Though written at the age of eighty-two, it is a dignified and eloquent discourse, and may be regarded as his solemn parting admonition to a class of men whose conduct is highly important to the community, and whose reformation and virtue he had long laboured most zealously to promote.

The SERMONS of BLAIR, are not now, perhaps, to be criticised with that blind admiration which ranked them, in their own time, amidst the classics of English literature. The present age is now generally sensible that they are deficient in that religious unction which constitutes the better part of such compositions, and are but little calculated to stir and rouse the heart to a sense of spiritual duty. Every thing, however, must be considered more or less relatively. Blair’s mind was formed at a time when the fervours of evangelical divinity were left by the informed classes generally, to the lowly and uninstructed hearts, which, after all, are the great citadels of religion in every country. A certain order of the clergy, towards the end of the eighteenth century, seemed to find it necessary, in order to prevent an absolute revolt of the higher orders from the standards of religion, to accommodate themselves to the prevailing taste, and only administer moral discourses, with an insinuated medicum of real piety, where their proper purpose unquestionably is to maintain spiritual grace in the breasts of the people, by all the means which the gospel has placed within their reach. Thus, as Blair preached to the most refined congregation in Scotland, he could hardly have failed to fall into this prevalent fashion; and he perhaps considered, with

perfect sincerity, that he was justified by the precept of St Paul, which commands the ministers of religion to be "all things to all men." Religious feeling is modified by time and place; and I do not apprehend it to be impossible that the mind of Hugh Blair, existing at the time of his celebrated ancestor, might have exerted itself in maintaining the covenant, and inspiring the populace with the energy necessary for that purpose; while the intellect and heart of his predecessor, if interchanged, might have spent their seal in behalf of Henry Viscount Melville, and in gently pleasing the minds of a set of modern indifferents, with one grain of the gospel dissolved into a large cooling-draught of moral disquisition.

The remaining part of the life of Blair hardly affords a single additional incident. He had been married, in 1748, to his cousin, Katherine Bannatyne, daughter of the Rev James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. By this lady he had a son who died in infancy, and a daughter, who survived to her twenty-first year, the pride of her parents, and adorned with all the accomplishments which belong to her age and sex. Mrs Blair, herself a woman of great good sense and spirit, was also taken from him a few years before his death, after she had shared with the tenderest affection in all his fortunes, and contributed nearly half a century to his happiness and comfort. The latter part of his life was spent in the enjoyment of a degree of public respect which falls to the lot of few men, but which was eminently deserved by him, both on account of his high literary accomplishments, and the singular purity and benevolence of his private character. He latterly was enabled, by the various sources of income which he enjoyed, to set up a carriage; a luxury enjoyed, perhaps, by no predecessor in the Scottish church, and by very few of his successors. He also maintained an elegant hospitality, both at his town and country residences, which were much resorted to by strangers of distinction who happened to visit Edinburgh.

It may be curious to know in what manner those discourses were delivered from the pulpit, which have so highly charmed the world in print. As might be easily supposed, where there was so much merit of one kind, there could scarcely, without a miracle, be any high degree of another and entirely different kind. In truth, the elocution of Dr Blair, though accompanied by a dignified and impressive manner, was not fit to be compared with his powers of composition. His voice was deformed by a peculiarity which I know not how to express by any other term than one almost too homely for modern composition, a *burr*. He also wanted all that charm which is to be derived from gesticulation, and, upon the whole, might be characterized as a somewhat formal preacher.

In what is called church politics, Dr Blair was a strenuous moderate, but never took an active share in the proceedings of the church. A constitutional delicacy of organisation unfitted him for any scene where men have to come into strong and personal collision. In temporal politics, he was a devout admirer of the existing constitution, and a zealous supporter of the tory government which flourished during the greater part of the reign of George III. With Viscount Melville, to whose father he had dedicated his thesis in early youth, he maintained a constant interchange of civilities. At the breaking out of the French revolution, he exerted himself in the most energetic manner to stop the tide of disaffection and irreligion, which at one particular crisis seemed to threaten all existing institutions. He declared in the pulpit that none but a good subject could be a good Christian; an expression so strongly akin to the ancient doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, that it can only be excused by the particular circumstances of the time. The mind of Blair was too fastidiously exact and elegant to display any thing of the majestic. Possessing more taste than genius,

he never astonished in conversation by any original remark. In company, he made a far less striking appearance than the half-instructed peasant Burns, who, at his first visit to Edinburgh, was warmly patronized by Dr Blair. In some points of view, his mind bore an unprepossessing aspect. He was content to read, and weak enough to admire the wretched fictitious compositions which appeared in that age under the denomination of novels. He would talk profusely of the furniture of the room in which he was sitting, criticising every object with a sincere and well-weighed attention, which would not have been ill-bestowed upon the most solemn subjects. In his dress, and in almost all points of mere *externe* and ceremonial form, he was minutely fastidious. He was also so fond of the approbation of his fellow-creatures—in moderation, a most useful feature of character—that even very marked flattery was received by him not only without displeasure, but with an obviously keen relish, that said little either for his discrimination or his modesty. Yet, with these less worthy points of character, Blair had no mean moral feelings. He was incapable of envy; spoke liberally and candidly of men whose pursuits and opinions differed from his own, and was seldom betrayed into a severe remark upon any subject unconnected with actual vice.

Though his bodily constitution was by no means robust, yet by habitual temperance and by attention to health, his life was happily prolonged beyond the usual period. For some years he had felt himself unequal to the fatigue of instructing his very large congregation from the pulpit; and under the impression which this feeling produced, he has been heard to say, with a sigh, that, "he was left almost the last of his contemporaries." Such, nevertheless, was the vigour of his mind, that, in 1799, when past the eightieth year of his age, he composed and preached one of the most effective sermons he ever delivered, on behalf of the fund for the benefit of the sons of the clergy. He was also employed during the summer of 1800, in preparing his last volume for the press; and for this purpose, he copied the whole with his own hand. He began the winter, pleased with himself on account of this exertion; and his friends were flattered with the hope that he might live to enjoy the accession of emolument and fame which he expected it would bring. But the seeds of a mortal disease were lurking within him. On the 24th of December, he felt slight pain in his bowels, with which neither he nor his friends were alarmed. On the afternoon of the 26th, this pain increased, and violent symptoms began to appear; the causes of which were then unfortunately unknown both to himself and his physician. He had for a few years laboured under an inguinal hernia. This malady, which he was imprudently disposed to conceal, he considered as trifling; and he understood that by taking the ordinary precautions, nothing was to be apprehended from it. It settled, however, into a stoppage of the bowels, and ere the physician was made aware of his condition, an inflammation had taken place, and he consequently survived only till the morning of the 27th, thus expiring almost at the same time with that century of the Christian epoch, of which he had been one of the most distinguished ornaments. He died in the eighty-third year of his age, and the fifty-ninth of his profession as a minister of the gospel.

BLAIR, JAMES, an eminent divine, was reared for the episcopal church of Scotland, at the time when it was struggling with the popular dislike in the reign of Charles II. Discouraged by the equivocal situation of that establishment in Scotland, he voluntarily abandoned his preferments, and removed to England, where he was patronized by Compton, Bishop of London. By this prelate he was prevailed upon to go as a missionary to Virginia, in 1685, and, having given the greatest satisfaction by his zeal in the propagation of religion, he was, in 1689, preferred to the office of commissary to the bishop, which was the high-

est ecclesiastical dignity in that province. His exertions were by no means confined to his ordinary duties. Observing the disadvantage under which the province laboured through the want of seminaries for the education of a native clergy, he set about, and finally was able to accomplish, the honourable work of founding the college of Williamsburgh, which was afterwards, by his personal intervention, endowed by king William III., with a patent, under the title of the William and Mary College. He died in 1743, after having been president of this institution for about fifty, and a minister of the gospel for above sixty years. He had also enjoyed the office of president of the council of Virginia. In the year before his death, he had published at London, his great work, entitled, "Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount Explained, and the Practice of it Recommended, in divers sermons and discourses," 4 vols. 8vo., which is styled by Dr Waterland, the editor of a second edition, a "valuable treasure of sound divinity and practical Christianity."

BLAIR, JOHN, a churchman of noble family, who, being compelled by the tyranny of Edward I. in Scotland to join the bands of Sir William Wallace, became chaplain to that hero, and did not scruple also to take a share in his battles. He wrote an account of the deeds of Wallace, which is now lost, but is supposed to have furnished materials to Blind Harry. Another work of Blair's was styled, "De Liberata Tyrannide Scotia."

BLAIR, JOHN, LL.D. an eminent chronologist, was, as already mentioned in the memoir of Dr Hugh Blair, a relative of that distinguished personage. He received a clerical education at Edinburgh, and afterwards went in search of employment to London, along with Mr Andrew Henderson, author of a "History of the Rebellion of 1745," and many other works, and who, for some years, kept a bookseller's shop in Westminster Hall. As Henderson describes himself as residing in Edinburgh at the time of the battle of Prestonpans, it is probable that Blair's removal to London took place after that event. Henderson's first employment was that of an usher at a school in Hedge Lane, in which he was succeeded by Blair. The attention of the latter had probably been directed to chronology by the example of Dr Hugh Blair, who, as already mentioned, commenced a series of tables of events, for his own private use, which ultimately formed the groundwork of the work given to the world, in 1754, under the title of "The Chronology and History of the World, from the Creation to the year of Christ, 1753; illustrated in fifty-six tables, of which four are introductory, and contain the centuries prior to the first Olympiad, and each of the remaining fifty-two contain, in one expanded view, fifty years, or half a century. By the Rev. John Blair, LL.D." This large and valuable work was published by subscription, and was dedicated to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. In January, 1755, Dr John Blair was elected F. R. S. and in 1761, F. A. S. In 1756, he published a new edition of his "Chronology." In September, 1757, he was appointed chaplain to the Dowager Princess of Wales, and mathematical tutor to the Duke of York, (brother to George III.); and on Dr Townshend's promotion to the deanery of Norwich, the services of Dr Blair were rewarded, March, 1761, with a prebendal stall in Westminster abbey. Such a series of rapidly accumulating honours has fallen to the lot of very few Scottish adventurers. But this was not destined to be the end of his good fortune. He had only been prebend of Westminster six days, when the death of the vicar of Hinckley, in Leicestershire, enabled the Dean and Chapter to present him to that valuable living, to which was soon after added, the rectory of Burtoncoggles in Lincolnshire. In 1763-4, he made the tour of the continent, in company with his royal pupil. A new and enlarged edition of his "Chronology" appeared in 1768, and in 1771 he was presented, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, to the vicarage of St Bride's in the

city of London, which made it necessary for him to resign Hinckley. In 1776, he resigned St Bride's, in order to succeed to the rectory of St John the Evangelist in Westminster; and in June that year, he obtained a dispensation to hold this benefice along with that of Horton, near Colebrooke, in Buckinghamshire. In the memorable sea-fight of the 12th of August, 1782, his brother, Captain Blair, in the command of the *Anson*, was one of three distinguished officers who fell, and to whom the country afterwards voted a monument. This event gave such a shock to the venerable doctor, who at that time suffered under influenza, that he died, at his house in Dean's Yard, Westminster, on the 24th of June following. A work entitled, "Lectures on the Canons of the Old Testament," appeared after his death; but his best monument unquestionably will be his *Chronology*, the value of which has been so amply acknowledged by the world.

BLAIR, PATRICK, M. D. an eminent botanist in the earlier period of the existence of that science in Britain, was first known as a practitioner of surgery and physic at Dundee, where he brought himself into prominent notice as an anatomist, 1706, by the dissection of an elephant which died near that place. He was a non-juror or Scottish episcopalian, and so far attached to the exiled family of Stuart, as to be imprisoned during the insurrection of 1715, as a suspected person. He afterwards removed to London, where he recommended himself to the attention of the Royal Society by some discourses on the sexes of flowers. His stay in London was short, and after leaving it, he settled at Boston in Lincolnshire, where Dr Pulteney conjectures that he practised physic during the remainder of his life. The same writer, in his "Historical and Biographical Sketches of English Botany," supposes that his death happened soon after the publication of the seventh *Decad* of his *Pharmacobotanologia*, in 1728.

Dr Blair's first publication was entitled, "Miscellaneous Observations in Physic, Anatomy, Surgery, and Botanicks, 8vo, 1718." In the botanical part of this work, he insinuates some doubts relating to the method suggested by Petion and others, of deducing the qualities of vegetables from the agreement in natural characters; and instances the *Cynoglossum*, as tending to prove the fallacy of this rule. He relates several instances of the poisonous effects of plants, and thinks the *Echium Marinum* (*Pulmonaria Maritima* of Linnaeus) should be ranked in the genus *Cynoglossum*, since it possesses a narcotic power. He describes and figures several of the more rare British plants, which he had discovered in a tour made into Wales; for instance, the *Rumex Digynus*, *Lobelia Dortmanna*, *Alisma Ranunculoides*, *Pyrola Rotundifolia*, *Alchemilla Alpina*, etc. But the work by which he rendered the greatest service to botany, originated with his "Discourse on the Sexes of Plants," read before the Royal Society, and afterwards greatly amplified, and published, at the request of several members of that body, under the title of "Botanical Essays, 8vo, 1720." This treatise is divided into two parts, containing five essays; the three first respecting what is proper to plants, and the two last, what is proper to plants and animals. This is acknowledged, by an eminent judge, to have been the first complete work, at least in the English language, on that important department of botanical science, the sexes of the plants. The author shows himself well acquainted, in general, with all the opinions and arguments which had been already circulated on the same subject. The value of the work must not be estimated by the measure of modern knowledge, though even at this day it may be read by those not critically versed in the subject, with instruction and improvement. A view of the several methods then invented, cannot be seen so connectedly in any other English author. Dr Blair strengthened the arguments in proof of the sexes of plants, by sound reasoning and some new experiments. His reasons against Morland's opinion of the entrance of the *Farina* into the *Vasculum Seminale*,

and his refutation of the Lewenhœckian theory, have met with the sanction of the greatest names in modern botany. Dr Blair's last distinct publication, which he did not live to complete, was "*Parmacobotanologia*, or an Alphabetical and Classical Dissertation on all the British indigenous and garden plants of the New Dispensatory," 4to, 1723—28. In this work, which was carried no further than the letter H, the genera and species are described, the sensible qualities and medicinal powers are subjoined, with the pharmaceutical uses, and the author also notices several of the more rare English plants, discovered by himself in the environs of Boston. Dr Blair's fugitive writings consist of various papers in the Philosophical Transactions, of which one of the most remarkable is an account of the Anatomy and Osteology of the Elephant, drawn up from his observations in dissecting the animal above alluded to at Dundee.

BLAIR, ROBERT, an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was the sixth and youngest son of John Blair of Windyedge in Ayrshire, and Beatrix Muir, a lady of the honourable house of Rowallan. He was born at Irvine in 1593, and received his education at the college of Glasgow. After acting for some time as assistant to a teacher in that city, he was appointed, in the twenty-second year of his age, to be a regent or professor in the college. In 1616, he was licensed as a minister of the gospel. Happening soon after to preach before the celebrated Robert Bruce, and being anxious to have the judgment of so great and good a man upon his discourse, he took the liberty of directly asking him how he liked the sermon: Bruce said, "I found your sermon very polished and well digested, but there is one thing I did miss in it—to wit, the spirit of God; I found not that." This criticism made a deep and useful impression upon the young preacher. The prospects of Mr Blair at Glasgow were clouded in 1622, by the accession of Cameron to the office of Principal in the College. This divine, having been imbued in France with the tenets of Arminius, became a zealous promoter of the views of the court, for the introduction of Episcopacy into Scotland. Blair speedily became obnoxious to his evil offices, and found it necessary to resign his charge. For some years he officiated to a Presbyterian congregation at Bangour in Ireland, but, in 1632, was suspended, along with the equally famous preacher Livingstone, by the Bishop of Down. He then went over to court, to implore the interference of the King, who at length gave a favourable answer to his petition, writing with his own hand upon the margin, "Indulge these men, for they are Scotsmen;" an expression certainly honourable to the heart of the unfortunate monarch. Blair was one of those divines, who were reputed in Scotland to have direct communications with heaven, and a power of prophetic vision. While waiting anxiously for the return of his petition, he asked, and, as it is recorded by his biographer, received, a sign from heaven, assuring him that his wishes would be realised. He also "had from Ezekiel xxiv. 16. a strange discovery of his wife's death, and the very bed whereon she was lying, and the particular acquaintances attending her; and although she was in good health at his return home, yet in a little all this came to pass."¹ He had not been long re-established at Bangour, when the bishop found further fault with him, and again sentenced him to be expelled. He now joined in a scheme set on foot by various Presbyterian clergymen in similar circumstances, for fitting up a ship, and emigrating to New England. But being driven back by a storm, they conceived that the Almighty will was opposed to their resolution, and accordingly abandoned the scheme. Blair returned to Scotland to mingle in the tumultuous scenes of the covenant. He preached for some time at Ayr, and was afterwards settled by the General Assembly at St Andrews. In 1640, he accompanied the Scottish army into England, and assisted at the negotiations for the

¹ Scots Worthies, new edition, 1827, p. 302.

peace of Rippon. After the first burst of the Irish rebellion of 1641, when the Presbyterians supplicated the General Assembly for a supply of ministers, Blair was one of those who went over. He soon returned, however, to his charge at St. Andrews. In autumn 1645, when the Scottish estates and General Assembly were obliged by the prevalence of the plague at Edinburgh to sit in St. Andrews, Blair took a conspicuous part in the prosecution of Sir Robert Spottiswoode and other adherents of Montrose, who had been taken prisoners at Philiphaugh. Sir Robert, who had accompanied Montrose as a mere civilian, upon an embassy from the King, was sentenced, by a flagrant violation of the law, to be beheaded as a traitor. In reality this dignified and respectable person was sacrificed as an atonement for the exertions of his father, Archbishop Spottiswoode, to introduce Episcopacy. At this period, when toleration was sincerely looked upon as a fatal and deadly error, it was conceived, that to permit this person to escape would draw down the wrath of God upon the land. Blair, who entertained all these notions in the most earnest manner, was nevertheless anxious that an exertion should be made to turn Sir Robert from the errors of his faith, so that he might at least die in the profession of the true religion. He therefore attended him in jail, and even at the scaffold, trying all his eloquence to work a conversion. Spottiswoode, who was one of the most learned and enlightened men of his age, appears to have looked upon these efforts in a different spirit from that in which they were made. He was provoked, upon the very scaffold, to reject the prayers of his pious monitor, in language far from courtly. Mr. Blair was equally unsuccessful with Captain Guthrie, son of the ex-bishop of Moray, who was soon after executed at the same place.

Blair was one of the Scottish divines appointed, in 1645, to reason the King out of his Episcopal prepossessions at Newcastle. The celebrated Cant, one of his co-adjutors in this task, having one day accused his Majesty of favouring Popery, Mr Blair interrupted him, and hinted that this was not a proper time or place for making such a charge. The unfortunate monarch, who certainly had a claim to this amount upon the gratitude of Blair, appears to have felt the kindness of the remark. At the death of Henderson, his Majesty appointed Blair to be his successor, as chaplain for Scotland. In this capacity, he had much intercourse with the King, who, one day, asked him if it was warrantable in prayer to determine a controversy. Blair, taking the hint, said, that in the prayer just finished, he did not think that he had determined any controversy. "Yes," said the King, "you determined the Pope to be Antichrist, which is a controversy among divines." Blair said he was sorry that this should be disputed by his Majesty; for certainly it was not so by his father. This remark showed great acuteness in the divine, for Charles, being a constant defender of the opinions of his father, whose authority he esteemed above that of all professional theologians, was totally unable to make any reply. The constancy of the King in his adherence to a church, which his coronation oath had obliged him to defend, rendered, as is well known, all the advices of the Scottish divines unavailing. After spending some months with his Majesty, in his captivity at Newcastle, Mr Blair returned to Scotland.

In 1648, when Cromwell came to Edinburgh for the first time, the Commission of the Church sent three divines, including Mr Blair, to treat with him for a uniformity of religion in England. The sectarian general, who looked upon the Scottish Presbytery as no better than English Episcopacy, but yet was anxious to conciliate the northern divines, entertained this legation with smooth speeches, and made many solemn appeals to God, as to the sincerity of his intentions. Blair, however, had perceived the real character of Cromwell, and thought it necessary to ask explicit answers to the three following categories:—I, What

was his opinion of monarchical government? To this he answered, that he was for monarchical government; which exactly suited the views of the Scottish Presbyterians. 2, What was his opinion anent toleration? He answered confidently that he was altogether against toleration; which pleased, if possible, still better. 3, What was his opinion concerning the government of the church? "Oh, now," said Cromwell, "Mr Blair, you article me too severely; you must pardon me that I give you not a present answer to this." When the deputation left him Mr David Dickson said to Mr Blair, "I am glad to hear this man speak no worse;" to which the latter replied, "If you knew him as well as I, you would not believe a word he says; for he is an egregious dissembler."

Blair continued to be a zealous and useful minister during the usurpation of Cromwell, but after the Restoration, fell speedily under the censure of his metropolitan, Archbishop Sharpe. For some years, he had no regular place of worship, but preached and ministered when he met with a favourable opportunity. During his later years, being prohibited from coming within twenty miles of St Andrews, he lived at Meikle Couston, in the parish of Aberdour, where he died, August 27, 1666, in the 73d year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Aberdour, where there is a small tablet to his memory.

Robert Blair was the author of a Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, and also of some political pieces, none of which have come down to modern times. His abilities were singularly revived in more than one branch of his numerous progeny, particularly in his grandson, the author of "The Grave," and his two great-grandsons, Dr Hugh Blair, and the late Robert Blair, President of the Court of Session.

BLAIR, ROBERT, author of "The Grave, a Poem," was the eldest son of the Rev. David Blair, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and chaplain to the King, who, in his turn, was son to the subject of the preceding article. The mother of the author of "The Grave," was a Miss Nisbet, daughter of Mr Nisbet of Carfin. He was born in the year 1699, and after the usual preparatory studies, was ordained in 1731, minister of Athelstaneford, in East Lothian, where he spent the remainder of his life. Possessing a small fortune in addition to his stipend as a parish-clergyman, he lived, we are told, rather in the style of a country gentleman than of a minister, keeping company with the neighbouring gentry, among whom Sir Francis Kinloch of Gilmerton, patron of the parish, was one of his warmest friends. Blair, we are further informed, was at once a man of learning, and of elegant taste and manners. He was a botanist and florist, which he showed in the cultivation of his garden; and was also conversant in optical and microscopical knowledge, on which subjects he carried on a correspondence with some learned men in England. He was a man of sincere piety, and very assiduous in discharging the duties of his clerical functions. As a preacher, he was serious and warm, and discovered the imagination of a poet. He married Miss Isabella Law, daughter of Mr Law of Elvingston, who had been Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh; by this lady, who survived him, he had five sons and one daughter. His fourth son, who bore his own name, arose, through various gradations of honour at the Scottish bar, to be President of the Court of Session.

Blair had turned his thoughts, at an early period of life, to poetry. While still very young, he wrote some verses to the memory of his future father-in-law, Mr Law, who was also his blood relation. We have his own testimony for saying, that his "Grave" was chiefly composed in that period of his life which preceded his ordination as a parochial clergyman. An original manuscript of the poem, in the possession of his son the Lord President, was dated 1741-2; and it appears, from a letter written by the author to Dr Doddridge, in February

that year, that he had just been endeavouring, through the influence of his correspondent, Dr Isaac Watts, to induce the London booksellers to publish it. It was rejected by two of these patrons of literature, to whom it had been recommended by Dr Watts; but was finally printed at London, in 1743, "for Mr Cooper." The author appears to have been seriously anxious that it should become a popular work, for he thus writes to Dr Doddridge:—"In order to make it more generally liked, I was obliged sometimes to go cross to my own inclination, well knowing that, whatever poem is written upon a serious argument, must, upon that very account, be under serious disadvantages; and therefore proper arts must be used to make such a piece go down with a licentious age, which cares for none of those things." This is not very clearly intelligible, but perhaps alludes to the plain, strong, rational, and often colloquially familiar language of the poem, which the plurality of modern critics will allow to be its best feature. "The Grave" is now to be esteemed as one of the standard classics of English poetical literature, in which rank it will probably remain longer than many works of greater contemporary, or even present fame.

BOECE, HECTOR, whose name was otherwise spelled Boyis, Boyes, Boias, and Boice, an eminent, though credulous, historian, was born about the year 1465-6, at Dundee, and hence he assumed the surname of Deidonanus. His family were possessed of the estate of Panbride, or Balbride, in the county of Angus, which had been acquired by his grandfather, Hugh Boece, along with the heiress in marriage, in consequence of his services to David II., at the battle of Dupplin. The rudiments of his education he received in his native town, which at that time, and for a long time after, was celebrated for its schools: he afterwards studied at Aberdeen, and finally at Paris, where, in 1497, he became a professor of philosophy in the college of Montacute. Of a number of the years of his life about this period, there is evidently nothing to be told. The garrulous and sometimes fabling Dr Mackenzie has filled up this part of his life with an account of his fellow-students at Paris, all of whose names, with one exception, have sunk into oblivion. That exception is the venerated name of Erasmus, who, as a mark of affection for Boece, dedicated to him a catalogue of his works, and maintained with him in after life as regular a correspondence as the imperfect communication of those times would permit. In the year 1500, Bishop Elphinstone, who had just founded the College of Aberdeen, invited Boece home to be the principal. The learned professor, reluctant to quit the learned society he enjoyed at Paris, was only persuaded to accept this invitation, as he informs us himself, "by means of gifts and promises;" the principal inducement must of course have been the salary, which amounted to forty merks a-year—equal to two pounds three shillings and fourpence sterling—a sum, however, which Dr Johnson remarks, was then probably equal, not only to the needs, but to the rank of the President of King's College.

On his arrival at Aberdeen he found, among the Chanon Regulars, a great many learned men, and became a member of their order. From this order, indeed, the professors seem to have been selected. As colleague in his new office, Hector Boece associated with himself Mr William Hay, a gentleman of the shire of Angus, who had studied along with him under the same masters both at Dundee and Paris. Alexander Hay, a Chanon of Aberdeen, was the first teacher of scholastic theology in that university. David Guthry and James Ogilvy are mentioned as professors of civil and canon law; but whether they were contemporary teachers or succeeded each other in the same chair, is not quite clear. Henry Spital was the first who taught philosophy at Aberdeen, and for this purpose he wrote *An Easy Introduction to the philosophy of Aristotle*. Another of the learned professors was Alexander Galloway, rector of Kinkell, who

was author of a treatise on the *Æbudæ* or Western Isles, with an account of the *Clag* or *Claik Geese*, and the trees upon which they were found to grow; a work no longer to be found, but the best parts of which are probably embodied in Boece's history of Scotland. Arthur Boece, brother to the principal, was also one of his assistants. He was a tutor of the canon law, and a licentiate in the civil; a man of great eloquence and singular erudition. Besides these, Boece has commemorated several others, who were his assistants, and reflected lustre upon the dawn of learning in the north. Some of them were, according to the learned principal's account, men of high eminence, whose influence was great in the days in which they lived, and whose example extended even to after ages. He particularly refers to John Adam, who was the first to receive the degree of Doctor of theology in the University; after which he was made principal of the Dominican order, which, from the vicious lives, the poverty, and the ignorance of its members, had sunk into great contempt, but which he raised into high respectability, both for piety and learning. On the death of his patron Bishop Elphinstone, in 1514, Boece, out of gratitude for his friendship, and respect for his great learning and exemplary virtue, resolved to give to the world an account of his life, in composing which he was so struck with the exemplary conduct of others who had filled that see, that he determined to write the history of the lives of the whole of the bishops of Aberdeen. This laborious undertaking he completed in Latin, after the custom of the age, and gave to the world in the year 1522. It was printed at Paris by Badius Ascensius.

His next, and by far his greatest work, was a history of Scotland, from the earliest accounts. To this work he was probably stimulated by the example of John Mair or Major, a tutor of the Sorbonne, and principal of the college of St Salvadore at St Andrews, whose history of Scotland, in six books, was published at Paris in the year 1531. The *Scotichronicon* had been originally written by John Fordun a canon of Aberdeen and continued by Walter Bower or Bowmaker to the death of James I., nearly a century previous to this, as had also the metrical *Chronykil* of Scotland by Andrew Winton prior of Lochleven, but all of them written in a style beneath the dignity of history, and disguised by the most contemptible fables. Mair was more studious of truth, but his narrative is meagre and his style loose and disjointed. Boece was a man of high talent, and one of the best Latin scholars which his country has at any period produced; but he was credulous in a high degree, and most unquestionably has given his authority, such as it was, to many fables, if he did not himself absolutely invent them; and he has rested the truth of his facts upon authors that never existed except in his own imagination. Of the "*Inglis Iyis*," which Buchanan complains had cost him so much trouble to purge out of the "*story of Scotland*," perhaps he had not preserved the greatest number, but he certainly had more of the "*Scottis vanitie*" than even that great man was willing to part with. In imitation of some other historians he has introduced his history with the cosmography of the country, in which he has been followed by Buchanan. Some passages we have selected from this part of the work, illustrative of his taste for, and his knowledge of, natural history. The extracts are taken from the translation of John Bellenden archdeacon of Murray, which was made for the benefit of King James V., who, from a defective education, was unable to read the original. That they may afford the reader a genuine specimen of our ancient Scottish prose, we have given these few extracts in their original orthography. The first is the result of the inquiries of Hector Boece into the *claicks* or *clag-geese* that were supposed to grow upon trees.

"Sum men belevis that thir claikis grows on treis by the nobbis, bot thair opinion is vane. And because the nature and procreation of thir claikis is

strange, we have maid na little laubore and diligence to serch the truth and veritie thairof. We have sailit throw the seis quhare they ar brede, and find by grit experience that the nature of the seis is maire relevant cause of their procreation than ony other thyng; for all treis that are cussen in the seis be process of tyme apperis first worme etin, and in the small hollis and boris thairof growis small wormis. First they schaw thair heid and feit, and last of all they schaw thair plumis and wingis. Finally, quhen they are cumin to the just measure and quantitie of geis, they fle in the aire as othir fowlia. Thairfore because the rude and ignorant pepyll saw oftymes the fruitis that fell off the treis quhilke stude nair the see, convertit within short tyme in geis, they belevit that thir geis grew upon the treis hingand be thair nobbis, sic like as apillis and uthir fruitis, bot thair opinion is nocht to be sustainit." This absurd nonsense is by the vulgar in some places believed to this day. The Barnacle has somewhat the appearance of a fowl in miniature inclosed in a shell, and this they suppose to be the young of the claik-goose. The following will not appear less wonderful to the greater part of readers than the procreation of the claike. "The wolffis ar richt noy-sum to the tame bestial in all pairts of Scotland, except ane pairt thairof, named Glenmore; in quhilke the tame bestial gets lytill damage of wyld bestial, especially of toddis. For ilk hous nurises ane young todd certane days, and mengis the fleshe thairof after it be slane, with sic meit as they gif to thair fowlis or uthir small beistis, and see mony as eits of this meit ar preservit twa months after fra ony damage be the toddis, for toddis will gust na fleshe that gusts of thair ain kynd; and be thair bot ane beist or fowl that has nocht gustit of this meit the todd will chais it out amang ane thousand."

Could the following art be re-discovered it would be a great saving in the article barley, and would besides render the malt duty of non-effect. "In all the desertis and muires of this realme growis an herbe namit hadder, bot [without] ony seid, richt nutritive baith to beistis and fowlis, speciallie to beis. This herbe in the month of Julie has ane floure of purple hew, als sweet as honey. The Pychts maid of this herbe sum tyme ane richt delicious and halsume drynk, nochttheless the manier of the making of it is perist be the extermination of the said Pychtis, for they schaw never the craft of the making of this drink bot to thair awn blude."

The following particular description of gum found among the isles, probably ambergrese, is singularly characteristic of the author. "Amang the craggis of the islis growis ane maneir of goun, hewit like gold, and as attractive of nature that it drawis strae, flax, or hemmis of claitis, to it, in the samin maneir as does ane adamant stane. This goun is generat of see froth quhilke is cussin up be the continual repercussion of the wavis aguinis the see wallis, and throw ithand motion of the see it growis als teuch as glew, ay mair and mair, quhill at last it falls down of the crag in the see. Twa yeir afore the cumin of this beuk to light, arriwit ane grit lump of this goun in Buchquhane, als meikle as ane hors, and was brocht hame by the herdis, quhilkeis war keepand thair beistis to thair housis and cussen in the fire, and because they fand ane smell and odour thair-with, they schaw to thair maister, that it was ganand for the sens [incense] that is maid in the kirke. Thair maister was ane rude man, as they war, and tuke bot ane lytill pairt thairof. The maist pairt was destroyit afore it cum to ony wyse maneiris, and sa the proverb was verifit, 'The sou curis na balme.'

Of the miraculous the two following are tolerable specimina. "In Orkney is ane grit fische, mair than onie hors, of marvelous and incredible sleip. This fische, whan she begins to sleip, feanis hir teith fast on ane crag abave the water. Als soon as the marineris fynis hir on sleip, they come with ane stark cabill in ane boat, and efter they have borit ane hole throw hir tail, they fenne hir to the

samyn. Als soon as this fische is awalknit, she maks her to loup with grit fure into the see, and fra she fynd hirsoff fast she wrythis hir out of hir awn akin and deis. Of the fatness that scho hes is maid oulie in grit quantitie, and of hir akin is maid strang cabilla."

"In Murrayland, in the kirke of Pette, the bains of lytill John remains in grit admiration of the pepill. He has been fourteen feit of hight, with square members effeiring thairto. Sax yeirs afore the cumin of this werk to light, we saw his hanah bain als meikle as the haill bain of ane man, for we shut our arm in the mouth thairof, by quhillk appeirs how strang and square pepill grew in our region afore they war effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth." Spare diet seems to have been, in the estimation of our author, the all in all of human excellence, whether mentally or corporeally, and its disuse has certainly never been more eloquently bewailed than in the following paragraph:—"I belief nane hes now sic eloquence nor fouth [plenty] of language that can sufficiently declare how far we in thir present dayis ar different fra the virtew and temperance of our eldaris. For quhare our eldaris had sobreatie, we have ebreitie and drunkenness; quhare they had plentie with sufficence, we have immoderate desiris with superfluities; as he war maist nobyl and honest that could devore and swelly maist; throw quhillk we engorge and fillis ourself day and nycht sa full of meitis and drinkis, that we can nocht abstane quhill our wambe be sa swon, that it is unable to ony virtewous occupation, and nocht allanerly may surfect denners and sowpar suffice, bot also we must continue our shameful vorasitie with dubell denners and sowpars, throw quhillk mony of us gangis to na uthir bisines bot to fill and tume our wambe. Na fische in the see, nor fowle in the aire, nor beist in the wood, may haif rest, bot ar socht here and thair to satisfy the hungry appetitis of gluttonis. Nocht allanerly are wynis socht in France, bot in Spayne, Italy, and Greece, and sumtyme baith Aphrick and Asya ar socht for new delicious meitis and wynis to the samyn effect. The young pepill and bairnis follow thir unhappie customes of thair faderis, and givis themself to lust and insolence, havind all vertewous craftis in contemption, and sa whan tyme of weir occurris, they are sa effeminat and soft, that they pass on hors as heavie martis, and are sae fat and grown that they may do na thing in compare of the soverane manheid of thair antecessors. Als sun as they ar returnit hame becaus thair guddis ar not sufficient to nuris them in voluptuous life and pleasur of thair wambe, they are given to all maneir of avarice, and outhir castis them to be strang and maisterful theves, or else sawers of dissention amang the nobyllis."

Perhaps, after all, the last paragraph of Boece's *Cosmography of Scotland* might have been sufficient to attest his character: "Thus it were needful to put an end to our *Cosmographie*, were not an uncouth history tarryis a litill my pen. Mr Jame Ogilby, with uthir nobylmen, wes send as ambassatouris frae the maist nobill prince king James the feird to the kyng of France, and be tempest of see they war constraint to land in Norway, quhare they saw nocht far fra thaim mony wild men nakit and ruch, on the sam maner as they war painted. At last they got advertising by landwart pepill that they war doum beestis under the figur of men, quha in tyme of nicht usit to come in grit companies to landwart villages, and quhan they fand na doggis they brek up doris, and slays all the pepill that they fynd thair intill. They are of sa huge strenth that they pull up treis by the rutis and sechts thairwith amang thaimself. The ambassatouris war astonist at thir monstouris, and made strick watches with grit fyres birnard all nicht, and on the morrow they pullit up sails and depairtit. Forther the Norway men schow that there wes also nocht far fra thaim an pepill that swomit all the symer, like fische in the see, leifand on fische, bot in the winter, because the

water is cauld, they leif upon wild beistis that descendis fra the mountainis, and sa endis here the Cosmography of Scotland." Such are specimens of what passed for veritable history in Scotland scarcely three centuries ago, and such was the weakness of a man who was certainly in his own day, even by foreigners, reckoned an ornament to his country. The truth is, knowledge in those days was most deplorably limited by the difficulty of travelling, and the paucity of books. A geographical writer sat in his study, ignorant personally of every thing except what was immediately around him, and liable to be imposed upon by the stories of credulous or lying travellers, which he had no means of correcting or disproving. The philosophical writer was equally liable to be imposed upon by false and superstitious systems, which the age produced in great abundance.

Boece's history was published at Paris in 1526, in a folio volume, under the title of "*Scotorum Historiæ, a prima gentis origine, cum aliarum et rerum et gentium illustratione non vulgari.*" This edition, which was printed by Badius, contains seventeen books. A second was printed at Lausanne, and published at Paris in 1574, about forty years after the death of Boece. In this, were added the eighteenth and part of a nineteenth book, written by himself; and a continuation of the history to the end of the reign of James III., by Ferrarius, a learned Piedmontese, who came to Scotland in 1528, in the train of Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss, and afterwards Bishop of Orkney.

Soon after the publication of his history, (1527,) James V. bestowed upon Boece a pension of £50 Scots yearly, which was to be paid by the sheriff of Aberdeen out of the king's casualties. Two years afterwards, a new precept was issued, directing this pension to be paid by the customers of Aberdeen, until the king should promote him to a benefice of 100 merks Scots of yearly value. By a subsequent regulation, the pension was partly paid by the king's comptroller, and partly by the treasurer.

As the payment appears for the last time in the treasurer's books for 1534, it is probable that about that time the king carried into effect his intention of exchanging the pension for a benefice. The benefice so given was the Rectory of Fyvie in Aberdeenshire, which he held at his death in 1536, as appears from the record of the presentation of his successor. According to Gordon of Straloch, the death of the reverend historian happened at Aberdeen; he was then about seventy years of age.

In estimating the character of Hector Boece, many circumstances must be taken into account. It is certainly impossible to read his history without feeling contempt for his understanding as well as for his veracity; yet when we consider the night of ignorance, imbecility, and error, in which he lived, contempt gives place to strong compassion, and we feel disposed to apologize for, rather than to blame him. Lord Hailes has bitterly remarked that the Scots were reformed from popery, but not from Boece, and Pinkerton inveighs against him, as "the most egregious historical impostor that ever appeared in any country!" It is enough, however, for the vindication of this elegant writer, that he fulfilled all the duties that could be demanded from a historian in his own time, and could not be expected, to use a more just expression of Dalrymple, to be a philosopher before philosophy revived. That he was incapable of designed imposture, appears incontestibly proved by the testimonies of his contemporaries; Erasmus, in particular, styling him a man who "knew not what it was to make a lie."

The highest honours have been bestowed upon the learning and genius of Boece. The same distinguished friend says, that he was a man of an extraordinary and happy genius, and possessed of great eloquence. Ferrarius, who

continued his history, styles him a man of singular learning and erudition, and one who had transmitted to posterity, in a most decent style, the noble and heroic achievements of our kings and predecessors, and he believes that there is no man on the like subject could have done it more significantly, or to better purpose. Paul Jovius, in his description of Britain, says, that Boece wrote the history of the Scots kings down to James III. "with equal eloquence and diligence." Of his description of Scotland, the very subject upon which we have animadverted, he says that he made it his business, being led on by curiosity and the love of his country, to leave nothing unobserved that was praiseworthy, either in our deserts or mountains, or in our lakes and seas. Joannes Gualterius says, that he was exquisitely versed in all the parts of philosophy and theology, and a most eminent historian. Bishop Lealy affirms that his style has the purity of Cæsar's, and that for the nervousness of his words and reasonings, he seems to have transferred to himself that of Livy. Bishop Spotswood says, that he was a great philosopher, and much commended by Erasmus for his eloquence, and though he has been by some English writers traduced for a fabulous and partial historian, they who take the trouble to peruse his history will perceive this to be spoken out of passion and malice, not from any just cause. Even Buchanan, though he charges him with having, in his description of Scotland, delivered some things not true, and with having drawn others into mistakes, as well as with being over credulous of those to whom he committed the inquiry after many of his matters, and in consequence published their opinions in preference to the truth, admits that he was not only notably learned in the liberal sciences above the condition of those times, but also of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination." Bartholomew Latomas, a well known annotator on Cicero, Terence, and Horace, honoured his memory by the following very beautiful epitaph:—

Quisquis ad tumulum obstupescis istum,
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesce tædis;
Et quis sic statuit cupis doceri?
Fiat: hic recubat Boethius Hector
Ille qui patriæ suæ tenebras,
Atque illas patrias nitore linguae
Invecto Latine fugavit ultra
Thulen et vitrei vigoris Arcton.
Persolvent Scitides proin Camænas,
Cum passim incipiant queantque haberi,
Romanæ meritis suo Parenti
Gratias, et tumulum volunt ad istum,
Tædas perpetua micare luce,
Lucem perpetuis adesce tædis.

To the merely English scholar, the following imitation will give some faint idea of this epitaph.

That in this tomb the never-fading light
Streams bright from blazing torches unconsumed.
Art thou amazed, and would'st thou read aright?
Hector Boethius, know, lies here inhumed.
He who his country's hills and vales illumed
With all the lustre of the Latian lore,
Chasing the shades of darkness deep, fore-doom'd,
Beyond the freezing pole and Thule's shore.

For this adorn'd, graceful in Roman dress,
 Deserved thanks the Scotian Muses pay
 To him who gave them life—decreeing thus
 Upon his tomb unfading light shall play,
 From torches burning bright, that ne'er shall know decay.

BOGUE, DAVID, the Father, as he has been called, of the London Missionary Society, was born at Hallydown in the Parish of Coldingham, Berwickshire, on the 18th February, 1750. His father, who farmed his own estate, was descended of a respectable family which had been long settled in the county. His studies are said to have been carried on at Dunse under the superintendence of the distinguished Cruikshanks, not less remembered for the success of his tuition, than for the severity of his discipline. He afterwards removed to the university of Edinburgh, and studied moral philosophy under Adam Ferguson, the well-known author of the "History of Civil Society." After undergoing the usual course of study, and being licensed as a preacher in connection with the church of Scotland, from want, perhaps, of very flattering prospects in his native country, he removed to London (1771), and was for some time employed in the humble, but meritorious, capacity of usher in an academy at Edmonton, afterwards at Hampstead, and finally with the Rev. Mr Smith of Camberwell, whom he also assisted in the discharge of his ministerial duties both at Camberwell and at Silver Street, London, where he held a lectureship, the duties of which were at one time performed by the celebrated John Home. The zeal with which Mr Bogue discharged his duties in both of these capacities, contributed not less to the satisfaction of Mr Smith, than to the increase of his own popularity. At length, on the resignation of the minister of an independent chapel at Gosport, Mr Bogue was unanimously chosen to fill the vacant charge. The duties of his new situation were such as to require all the strength of judgment and uncompromising inflexibility, tempered with Christian meekness, which entered so largely into his character. The charge was one of great difficulty, and of peculiar importance. The members of the congregation were divided among themselves, and part of them had indeed withdrawn from the communion altogether, during the ministry of his predecessor, and formed themselves into a separate congregation, under a rival minister; but the exemplary conduct of Mr Bogue, and his zeal in the discharge of his duties, were such, that he had scarce occupied the pulpit twelve months when a re-union was effected. His fame, as a solid and substantial scholar, and an evangelical and indefatigable minister, now spread rapidly; and, early in March 1780, he entered into the design of becoming tutor to an establishment for directing the studies of young men destined for the Christian ministry in connexion with the Independent communion. For the ability with which this establishment was conducted, both now and when it afterwards became a similar one for those destined for missionary labours, his praise is indeed in all the churches. It was in this period, though occupied with the details of what most men would have felt as a full occupation of their time, that his ever-active mind turned its attention to the formation of a grand missionary scheme, which afterwards resulted in the London Missionary Society. The influence which the establishment of this institution was calculated to have on the public mind was grand and extensive, and the springing up of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society at short intervals, proves how much good was effected by the impetus thus given by one master-mind. In the establishment of both of these he likewise took an active part, contributing to the latter body the first of a series of publications which have been of great usefulness. In the year 1796, Mr Bogue was called upon to show whether he, who had professed himself such a friend

to missionary enterprise, was sufficiently imbued with the spirit of the gospel to enable him to forsake home and the comforts of civilized society, to devote himself to its sacred cause. The call alluded to, was made—and it was not made in vain—by Robert Haldane, Esq. of Airdrie, who, to furnish funds for this grand enterprise, sold his estate. Their design was, in conjunction with two other divines, who had recently left the established church of Scotland, and become Independent ministers, to preach the gospel to the natives of India, and likewise to form a seminary for the instruction of fellow-labourers in the same field. The names of the two other ministers who intended to join in this, perhaps the noblest enterprise of Christian philanthropy of which our age can boast, and which will ever reflect a lustre on the church with which it originated, were the Rev. Greville Ewing of Glasgow, and the Rev. W. Innes of Edinburgh. But the design was frustrated by the jealousy of the East India Company, who refused their sanction to the undertaking—a most fortunate circumstance, as it afterwards appeared, in as far as the missionaries were individually concerned; for a massacre of Europeans took place at the exact spot where it was intended the mission should have been established, and from which these Christian labourers could scarcely have hoped to escape. In 1815, Mr Bogue received the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, from the *Senatus academicus* of Yale college, North America, but such was the modesty of his character that he always bore this honour meekly and unwillingly.

His zeal for the cause of missions, to which he consecrated his life, continued to the last: he may truly be said to have died in the cause. He annually made tours in different parts of the country in behalf of the Missionary Society; and it was on a journey of this kind, in which he had been requested to assist at a meeting of the Sussex Auxiliary Society, that he took ill at the house of the Rev. Mr Goulty of Brighton, and, in spite of the best medical advice, departed this life in the morning of the 25th of October, 1825, after a short illness. The effect of this event upon the various churches and religious bodies with which Dr Bogue was connected, was great: no sooner did the intelligence reach London, than an extraordinary meeting of the Missionary Society was called, (October 26,) in which resolutions were passed expressive of its sense of the bereavement, and of the benefits which the deceased had conferred upon the society, by the active part he had taken in its projection and establishment, and subsequently “by his prayers, his writings, his example, his journeys, and, above all, by his direction and superintendence of the missionary seminary at Gosport.”

The only works of any extent for which we are indebted to the pen of Dr Bogue, are, “An Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament,” “Discourses on the Millennium,” and a “History of Dissenters,” which he undertook in conjunction with his pupil and friend Dr Bennet. The first of these he commenced at the request of the London Missionary Society, with the purpose of its being appended to an edition of the New Testament, which the society intended to circulate extensively in France. In consideration of the wide diffusion of infidelity in that country, he wisely directed his attention to the evidence required by this class of individuals—addressing them always in the language of kindness and persuasion, “convinced,” as he characteristically remarks, “that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God,”—and if usefulness be taken as a test of excellence, this work is so in a very high degree. No work of a religious character, if we except perhaps the *Pilgrim's Progress*, has been so popular and so widely circulated: it has been translated into the French, Italian, German, and Spanish languages, and has been widely circulated on the continent of Europe, where, under the divine blessing, it has been eminently useful. In France, in particular, and on the distant shores of America, its influence has been

felt in the convincing and converting of many to the cause of Christ. It is, indeed, the most useful of all his works. The discourses on the millennium are entirely practical and devotional, and though they want the straining for effect, and the ingenious speculations with which some have clothed this subject, and gained for themselves an ephemeral popularity—for to all such trickery Dr Bogue had a thorough aversion—they will be found strikingly to display the enlarged views and sterling good sense of their venerable author.

BOSTON, THOMAS, an eminent doctrinal writer, was born in the town of Dunse, March 7th, 1676, and received the rudiments of his education at his native town, first under a woman who kept a school in his father's house, and afterwards under Mr James Bullerwill, who taught what is called the grammar school. His father was a nonconformist, and, being imprisoned for his recusancy, retained the subject of this memoir in prison along with him, for the sake of company; which, notwithstanding his youth, seems to have made a lasting impression on the memory of young Boston. Whether the old man was brought at length to conform, we have not been able to learn; but during his early years, Mr Boston informs us that he was a regular attendant at church, "where he heard those of the episcopal way, that being then the national establishment." He was then, as he informs us, living without God in the world, and unconcerned about the state of his soul. Toward the end of summer, 1687, upon the coming out of king James's indulgence, his father carried him to a presbyterian meeting at Whitsome, where he heard the Rev. Mr Henry Erakine, who, before the Restoration, was minister of Cornhill, and father to the afterwards celebrated Messrs Ralph and Ebenezer Erakine. It was through the ministrations of this celebrated preacher, that Boston was first brought to think seriously about the state of his soul, being then going in the twelfth year of his age. After this he went back no more to the church till the curates were expelled, with whom, it was the general report of the country, no one remained after he became serious and in earnest about the salvation of his soul.—While at the grammar school, he formed an intimacy with two boys, Thomas Trotter and Patrick Gillies, who regularly met with him, at stated times, in a chamber of his father's house, for reading the Scriptures, religious conference, and social prayer, "whereby," he says, "they had some advantage, both in point of knowledge and tenderness." Mr Boston made a rapid progress at the school, and before he left it, which was in the harvest of 1689, had gone through all the books commonly taught in such seminaries, and had even begun the Greek, in which language he had read part of John's gospel, Luke, and the Acts of the apostles, though he was then but in his fourteenth year. After leaving the grammar school, two years elapsed before he proceeded farther in his studies, his father being doubtful if he was able to defray the expense. This led to several attempts at getting him into a gratuitous course at the university, none of which had any success. In the mean time he was partly employed in the composing and transcribing law papers by a Mr Cockburn, a public notary, from which he admits that he derived great benefit in after life. All his plans for a gratuitous academical course having failed, and his father having resolved to strain every nerve to carry him through the classes, he entered the university of Edinburgh as a student of Greek, December 1st, 1691, and studied for three successive sessions. He took out his laureation in the summer of 1694, when his whole expenses for fees and maintenance, were found to amount to one hundred and twenty eight pounds, fifteen shillings and eight pence, Scots money, less than eleven pounds sterling. That same summer he had the bursary of the presbytery of Dunse conferred on him as a student of theology, and in the month of January, 1695, entered the theological class in the college of Edinburgh, then taught by Mr George Campbell, "a

man," says Boston, "of great learning, but excessively modest, undervaluing himself, and much valuing the tolerable performances of his students. During this session, the only one Boston appears to have regularly attended in divinity, he also for a time attended the Hebrew class, taught by Mr Alexander Rule, but remarks that he found no particular advantage from it. After returning from the university, Mr Boston had different applications made to him, and made various attempts to settle himself in a school, but with no good effect, and in the spring of 1696, he accepted of an invitation from Lady Mersington to superintend the education of her grand-child, Andrew Fletcher of Aberlady, a boy of nine years of age, whose father having died young his mother was married again to lieutenant-colonel Bruce of Kennet, in Clackmannanshire. This he was the rather induced to undertake, because the boy being in Edinburgh at the High School, it gave his preceptor the power of waiting upon the divinity lectures in the college. In less than a month, however, his pupil was taken home to Kennet, whither Boston accompanied him, and never had another opportunity of attending the college. In this situation Mr Boston continued for about a year, and during that period was pressed, once and again, by the united presbyteries of Stirling and Dumblane, to take license as a preacher, which, for reasons not very obvious, he declined. In the month of March, 1697, he returned to Dunse, and by his friend Mr Colden, minister of that place, was induced to enter upon trials for license before the united presbyteries of Dunse and Churnside, by which he was licensed as a probationer in the Scottish church, June 15th, 1697. In this character Mr Boston officiated, as opportunity offered, for two years and three months, partly within the bounds of his native presbytery, and partly within the bounds of the presbytery of Stirling. It was first proposed by his friends of the presbytery of Dunse to settle him in the parish of Foulden, the episcopal incumbent of which was recently dead, and, on the first day he officiated there, he gave a remarkably decisive proof of the firmness of his principles. The episcopal precentor was, under the protection of the great men of the parish, still continued. Boston had no freedom to employ him without suitable acknowledgements, which, not being clothed with the ministerial character, he could not take. On the morning, therefore, of the first Sabbath, he told this official, that he would conduct the psalmody himself, which accordingly he did, and there was nothing said about it. In the parish of Foulden, however, he could not be settled without the concurrence of Lord Ross, who had had a great hand in the enormous oppressions of the preceding period. A personal application on the part of the candidate was required by his lordship, and the presbytery were urgent with Boston to make it, but to this he could not bring his mind, so the project came to nothing. He was next proposed for the parish of Abbey; but this scheme also was frustrated through the deceitfulness of the principal heritor, who was a minister himself, and found means to secure the other heritors, through whose influence he was inducted by the presbytery to the living, though the parishioners were reclaiming, and charging the presbytery with the blood of their souls, if they went on with the settlement. "This," remarks Boston, "was the ungodlike way of settling, that even then prevailed in the case of planting of churches, a way which I ever abhorred." After these disappointments, Mr Boston removed to his former situation in Clackmannanshire, where he remained for a twelvemonth, and in that time was proposed for Carnock, for Clackmannan, and for Dollar, all of which proposals were fruitless, and he returned to Dunse in the month of May, 1699.

Mr Boston had no sooner returned to his native place, than he was proposed by his friend Mr Colden for the parish of Simprin, where, after a great deal of hesitation on his part, and some little chicanery on the part of the presbytery

and the people, he was ordained minister, September 21, 1699. In Simprin he continued conscientiously performing the duties of his calling till the year 1707, when, by synodical authority, he was transported to Ettrick. His introduction to his new charge took place on the 1st of May that year, the very day when the union between Scotland and England took effect; on which account he remarks that he had frequent occasion to remember it, the spirits of the people of Ettrick being imbibed on that event against the ministers of the church, which was an occasion of much heaviness to him, though he had never been for the union, but always against it from the very beginning. Simprin, now united to the parish of Swinton, both of which make a very small parish, contained only a few families, to whose improvement he was able greatly to contribute with comparatively little exertion, and the whole population seem to have been warmly attached to him. Ettrick, on the contrary, is a parish extending nearly ten miles in every direction, and required much labour to bring the people together in public, or to come in contact with them at their own house. Several of them, too, were society men or old dissenters, who had never joined the Revolution church from what they supposed to be radical defects in her constitution, as well as from much that had all along been offensive in her general administration. Of her constitution, perhaps, Mr Boston was not the warmest admirer, for he has told us in his memoirs, that, after having studied the subject of baptism, he had little fondness for national churches, strictly and properly so called, and of many parts of her administration he has again and again expressed decided disapprobation; but he had an undefined horror at separation, common to the greater part of the presbyterians of that and the preceding generation, which led him to regard almost every other ecclesiastical evil as trifling. Of course, he was shocked beyond measure with the conduct of a few of the families of Ettrick, who chose to adhere to Mr John Macmillan, or Mr John Hepburn, and has left on record accounts of some interviews with them, shortly after entering upon his charge, which, we have no hesitation in saying, bring not only his candour, but his veracity, very strongly into question. He was, however, a conscientious and diligent student, and had already made great progress in the knowledge of the doctrine of grace, which seems to have been but imperfectly understood by many very respectable men of that period. In this he was greatly forward by a little book, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," which he found by accident in the house of one of his parishioners in Simprin, and which had been brought from England by a person who had been a soldier there in the time of the civil wars. Of this book he says, "I found it to come close to the points I was in quest of, and showed the consistency of those which I could not reconcile before, so that I rejoiced in it as a light which the Lord had seasonably struck up to me in my darkness." The works of Jerome Zanchrius, Luther on the Galatians, and Beza's Confession of Faith, which he seems to have fallen in with at the same period, (that is, while he was yet in Simprin, about the year 1700,) also contributed greatly to the same end, and seems to have given a cast of singularity to his sermons, which was highly relished, and which rendered them singularly useful in promoting the growth of faith and holiness among his hearers. In 1702, he took the oath of allegiance to queen Anne, the sense of which, he says, he endeavoured to keep on his heart, but never after took another oath, whether of a public or private nature. He was a member of the first general assembly held under that queen in the month of March, 1703, of which, as the person that was supposed to be most acceptable to the commissioner, the earl of Seafield, Mr George Meldrum was chosen moderator. The declaration of the intrinsic power of the church was the great object of the more faithful part of her ministers at this time; but they were told by the leading party,

that they already possessed it, and that to make an act asserting what they possessed, was only to waste time. While this very assembly, however, was in the midst of a discussion upon an overture for preventing the marriage of Protestants with papists, the commissioner, rising from his seat, dissolved the assembly in her majesty's name. "This having come," Boston remarks, "like a clap of thunder, there were from all corners of the house protestations offered against it, and for asserting the intrinsic power of the church, with which," he adds, "I joined in: but the moderator, otherwise a most grave and composed man, being in as much confusion as a schoolboy when beaten, closed with prayer, and got away together with the clerk, so that nothing was then got marked. This was one of the heaviest days," he continues, "that ever I saw, beholding a vain man trampling under the privileges of Christ's house, and others crouching under the burden; and I could not but observe how Providence rebuked their shifting the act to assert as above said, and baffled their design in the choice of the moderator, never a moderator since the revolution to this day, so far as I can guess, having been so ill-treated by a commissioner." This reflection in his private journal, however, with the exception of an inefficient speech in his own synod, appears to be all that ever Boston undertook for the vindication of his church on this occasion. It does not indeed appear that his feelings on this subject were either strong or distinct, as we find him at Ettrick, in the month of January, 1708, declaring that he had no scruple in observing a fast appointed by the court, though he thought it a grievance that arose from the union, and the taking away of the privy council. On this occasion he acknowledges that many of his hearers broke off and left him, several of whom never returned, but he justifies himself from the temper of the people, who, had he yielded to them in this, would have dictated to him ever afterwards. This same year he was again a member of the General Assembly, where application was made by persons liable to have the abjuration oath imposed upon them for an act declaring the judgment of the Assembly regarding it. The Assembly refused to do any thing in this matter; which was regretted by Mr Boston, and he states it as a just retribution which brought it to ministers' own doors in 1712, only four years afterwards. On this occasion also he was in the Assembly, but whether as a spectator or a member he does not say. The lawfulness of the oath was in this Assembly keenly disputed, and Boston failed not to observe that the principles on which the answers to the objections were founded were of such latitude, that by them any oath might be made passable. They were indeed neither more nor less than the swearer imposing his own sense upon the words employed, which renders an oath altogether nugatory. In this manner did Principal Carstairs swear it before the justices in Edinburgh, to the great amusement of the Jacobites, and being clear for it, he, in the assembly, by his singular policy, smoothed down all asperities, and prevented those who had not the same capacity of conscience from coming to any thing like a rupture with their brethren, for which cause, says Boston, I did always thereafter honour him in my heart! Boston, nevertheless, abhorred the oath, and could not bring his mind to take it, but determined to keep his station in the church, till thrust out of it by the civil authorities. He made over to his eldest son a house in Dunse, which he had inherited from his father, and made an assignation of all his other goods to his servant, John Currie, so that, when the law took effect, he might elude the penalty of five hundred pounds sterling, that was attached to the neglect or the refusal to take the oath within a prescribed period. The memory of the late persecuting reigns was, however, still fresh, and no one appeared willing to incur the odium of imitating them; and, so far as we know, the penalty was never in one single instance

exacted. The subject of this memoir, at least, was never brought to any real trouble respecting it.

Amid all Mr Boston's attention to public affairs he was still a most diligent minister; and instead of relaxing any thing of his labours since leaving Simprin, had greatly increased them by a habit he had fallen into of writing out his sermons in full, which in the earlier part of his ministry he scarcely ever did. This prepared the way for the publication of his sermons from the press, by which they have been made extensively useful. The first suggestion of this kind seems to have come from his friend Dr Trotter, to whom he paid a visit at Dunee, after assisting at the sacrament at Kelso, in the month of October, 1711; on which occasion the notes of the sermons he had preached on the state of man were left with the Doctor for his perusal, and they formed the foundation of that admirable work, the *Fourfold State*, which was prepared for publication before the summer of 1714, but was laid aside for fear of the Pretender coming in and rendering the sale impossible. In the month of August, the same year, he preached his action sermon from Hosea ii, 19; which met with so much acceptance, that he was requested for a copy with a view to publication. This he complied with, and in the course of the following winter, it was printed under the title of *the Everlasting Espousals*, and met with a very good reception, twelve hundred copies being sold in a short time, which paved the way for the publication of the *Fourfold State*, and was a means of urging him forward in the most important of all his public appearances, that in defence of the Marrow of Modern Divinity.

During the insurrection of 1715, he was troubled not a little with the want of military ardour among his parishioners of Ettrick, and, in the year 1717, with an attempt to have him altogether against his inclination transported to the parish of Closeburn, in Dumfries-shire. In the meantime, the *Fourfold State* had been again and again transcribed, and had been revised by Mr John Flint at Edinburgh; and, in 1718, his friends, Messrs Simson, Gabriel Wilson, and Henry Davidson, offered to advance money to defray the expense of its publication. The MS., however, was sent at last to Mr Robert Wightman, treasurer to the city of Edinburgh, who ultimately became the prefacer and the publisher of the book, with many of his own emendations, in consequence of which there was a necessity for cancelling a number of sheets and reprinting them, before the author could allow it to come to the public; nor was it thoroughly purged till it came to a second edition. The first came out in 1720.

The oath of abjuration, altered, in a small degree, at the petition of the greater part of the presbyterian nonjurors, was again imposed upon ministers in the year 1719, when the most of the ministers took it, to the great grief of many of their people, and to the additional persecution of the few who still wanted freedom to take it, of which number Mr Boston still continued to be one. Mr Boston was at this time employed by the synod to examine some overtures from the assembly regarding discipline; and having been, from his entrance on the ministry, dissatisfied with the manner of admitting to the Lord's table, and planting vacant churches, he set himself to have these matters rectified, by remarks upon, and enlargements of these customs. The synod did not, however, even so much as call for them, and, though they were by the presbytery laid before the commission, they were never taken into consideration. "And I apprehend," says Boston, "that the malady will be incurable till the present constitution be violently thrown down." Though the judicatures were thus careless of any improvement in discipline, they were not less so with regard to doctrine. The Assembly, in 1717, had dismissed professor Simson without censure, though he had gone far into the regions of error; and they condemned the whole presby-

tery of Auchterarder, for denying that any pre-requisite qualification was necessary on the part of the sinner for coming to Christ; and this year, 1719, they, at the instigation of Principal Haddow of St Andrews, commenced a prosecution against Mr James Hog of Carnock, who had published an edition of the Marrow, Alexander Hamilton minister of Airth, James Brisbane minister at Stirling, and John Warden minister at Gargunnoch, who had advocated its principles: which ended in an act of the General Assembly, forbidding all under their inspection in time coming to teach or preach any such doctrines. This act of Assembly was by Boston and his friends brought before the presbytery of Selkirk, who laid it before the synod of Merse and Teviotdale. Nothing to any purpose was done in the synod; but the publicity of the proceedings led to a correspondence with Mr James Hog, Mr Ralph Erskine, and others, by whom a representation and petition was given into the Assembly, 1721. This representation, however, was referred to the commission. When called before the commission, on Thursday, May 18, Mr Hog not being ready, and Mr Bonar of Torphichen gone home, Mr Boston had the honour of appearing first in that cause. On that day they were borne down by universal clamour. Next day, however, Principal Haddow was hardly pushed in argument by Mr Boston, and Logan of Culcross was completely silenced by Mr Williamson of Inveresk. The commission then gave out to the twelve representing brethren twelve queries, to which they were required to return answers against the month of March next. These answers, luminous and brief beyond any thing of the kind in our language, were begun by Mr Ebenezer Erskine, but greatly extended and improved by Mr Gabriel Wilson of Maxton. For presuming thus to question the acts of Assembly, the whole number were admonished and rebuked. Against this sentence they gave in a protestation, on which they took instruments in due form; but it was not allowed to be read. In the meantime, Mr Boston prepared an edition of the Marrow, illustrated by copious notes, which was published in 1726, and has ever since been well known to the religious public. The Assembly, ashamed, after all, of the act complained of, remodelled it in such a way as to abate somewhat its grossness, though, in the process, it lost little of its venom.

Following out his plan of illustrating gospel truth, Boston preached to his people a course of sermons on the covenants of works and of grace, which have long been in the hands of the public, and duly prized by judicious readers. His last appearance in the General Assembly was in the year 1729, in the case of Professor Simson, where he dissented from the sentence of the Assembly as being no just testimony of the church's indignation against the dishonour done by the said Mr Simson to our glorious Redeemer, the Great God and our Saviour, nor agreeable to the rule of God's word in such cases, nor a fit means to bring the said Mr Simson himself to repentance, of which, he added, he had yet given no evidence. This dissent, however, for the sake of the peace of the church, which some said it might endanger, he did not insist to have recorded on the Assembly's books. His last public work was a letter to the presbytery, which met at Selkirk, May 2, 1732, respecting the overture for settling vacant parishes; which breathes all the ardour and piety of his more early productions, and in which he deprecates the turning of that overture into a standing law, as what cannot fail to be the ruin of the church, and he prays that his letter may be recorded as a testimony against it. His health had been for a number of years declining; he was now greatly emaciated; and he died on the twentieth of May, 1732, in the fifty-sixth year of his age. Mr Boston was married shortly after his settlement at Simprin to Katharine Brown, a worthy pious woman, by whom he had ten children, four of whom only survived him. Thomas, the youngest, was ordained to the pastoral care of the parish of Oxnam; but removing thence to Jedburgh

without a presentation from the patron, or the leave of his presbytery, became one of the fathers of the Relief church. Of the fortunes of his other children we have not been informed. Of the character of Boston there can be but one opinion. Ardent and pious, his whole life was devoted to the promoting of the glory of God and the best interests of his fellow-men. As an author, though he has been lowered by the publication of too many posthumous works, he must yet be admitted to stand in the first class. Even the most incorrect of his pieces betray the marks of a highly original and powerful mind, and his *Fourfold State of Man* cannot fail to be read and admired so long as the faith of the gospel continues to be taught and learned in the language in which it is written.

BOSWELL, JAMES, the friend and biographer of Dr Samuel Johnson, was born at Edinburgh, October 29, 1740.

The Boswells, or Bosvilles, are supposed to have "come in with the Conqueror," and to have migrated to Scotland in the reign of David I. [1124-53]. The first man of the family, ascertained by genealogists, was Robert Bosville, who figured at the court of William the Lion, and became proprietor of some lands in Berwickshire. Roger de Boswell, sixth in descent from this person, lived in the reign of David II., and acquired lands in Fife. His descendant, Sir John Boswell, who flourished in the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, acquired the lands of Balmuto in Fife, which was afterwards the principal title of the family. David Boswell of Balmuto, the eleventh representative of the family in succession, had, besides his heir, Alexander, who succeeded to the family estates, a son named Thomas, who became a servant of James IV., and was gifted by that monarch with the lands of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, which were then in the crown by recognition.¹ The charters, one of which is dated in 1504, the other in 1505, bear that the lands were granted, "pro bono et gratuito servitio nobis per dilectum nostrum familiarem Thomam Boswell impensia,"—and "pro bono servitio, et pro singulari favore quem erga ipsum Thomam gerimus." The lands of Auchinleck had previously belonged to a family of the same name. Thomas Boswell, first of Auchinleck, married a daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun; and fell bravely fighting with his master at Flodden. The estimation and quality of his descendants may be exemplified by the dignity of the families into which they married in succession. The following are the fathers of their respective brides:—James Earl of Arran,

¹ Mr Boston's name is still held in great reverence by the people of the south of Scotland. The editor of this work well recollects two questions which, in his youth, used to pass among the boys at a town not far from Etrick—"who was the best, and who the worst man that ever lived?"—their minds evidently reflecting only upon modern times. The answer to the first query gave, "Mr Boston, the minister of Etrick:" the worst man, I regret to say, was the Earl of March, father of the last Duke of Queensberry, whose fame, it may be guessed, was purely local.

² Thomas Boswell is frequently mentioned in the Treasurer's books under the reign of James IV. On the 15th May, 1504, is an entry, "Item, to Thomas Boswell, he laid downe in Leith to the wife of the kingis innis, and to the boy rane the kingis hors, 18s." On the 2nd August, is the following: "Item, for twa hidis to be jakkis to Thomas Boswell and Watto Trumbull, agane the Raid of Eskdale, [an expedition against the border thieves,] 56s." On the 1st of January, 1504-5, "Item, to Thomas Boswell and Pate Sinclair to by thaim daunsing geir, 28s." Under December 31st, 1505, "Item, to 30 dosane of bellis for dansaris, delyverit to Thomas Boswell, 4l. 10s." Mr Pitcairne, from whose valuable "Collection of Criminal Trials" these extracts are made, seems to think that Thomas Boswell was a *minstrel* to King James: it is perhaps as probable that he was chief of the royal train of James. If such he really was, and if the biographer of Johnson had been aware of the fact, he would have perhaps considered it a reason for moderating a little his family pride—though we certainly must confess that there is not altogether wanting some analogy between the professions of Laird Thomas and Laird James.

who married the Princess Mary, daughter of king James II., and was ancestor of the Hamilton family; Sir Robert Dalzell of Glenae, ancestor of the Earls of Carnwath [the same gentleman had for his second wife, a daughter of Lord Ochiltree;] Crawford of Kerse; Sir John Wallace of Cairnhill [2nd wife, a daughter of Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall]; Cunningham of Glengarnock; Hamilton of Dalzell; Earl of Kincardine; Colonel John Erskine, grandson of the lord treasurer Earl of Mar.

James Boswell was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, and of Euphemia Erskine.¹ The father was an advocate in good practice at the Scottish bar; who was, in 1754, elevated to the bench, taking, on that occasion, the designation of Lord Auchinleck. James Boswell, father of Lord Auchinleck, had also been a Scottish barrister, and, as we learn from Lord Kames, one of the best of his time; his wife was a daughter of Alexander Bruce, second Earl of Kincardine, whose mother was Veronica, a daughter of the noble house of Sommeledyk in Holland. For an account of Auchinleck, reference may be made to Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands.

The father of the biographer was a stern and rigid presbyterian, and a zealous supporter of the House of Hanover: young Boswell, on the contrary, from his earliest years, showed a disposition favourable to the high church and the family of Stuart. Dr Johnson used to tell the following story of his biographer's early years, which Boswell has confessed to be literally true. "In 1745, Boswell was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling, on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did." "So you see," adds Boswell, who has himself preserved the anecdote, "*whigs of all ages are made in the same way.*"

He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Mr James Muddell, in Edinburgh, a teacher of considerable reputation, who gave elemental instruction to many distinguished men. He afterwards went through a complete academical course at the college of Edinburgh, where he formed an intimacy with Mr Temple of Allardeen in Northumberland, afterwards vicar of St Gluvies in Cornwall, and known in literary history for a well-written character of Gray, which has been adopted both by Dr Johnson and Mason in their memoirs of that poet. Mr Temple and several other young English gentlemen were fellow-students of Boswell, and it is supposed that his intercourse with them was the original and principal cause of that remarkable predilection for English society and manners, which characterized him through life.

Boswell very early began to show a taste for literary composition; in which he was encouraged by Lord Somerville, of whose flattering kindness he ever preserved a grateful recollection. His lively and sociable disposition, and passion for distinguishing himself as a young man of parts and vivacity, also led him, at a very early period of life, into the society of the actors in the theatre, with one of whom, Mr David Ross, he maintained a friendship till the death of that individual, in 1791, when Boswell attended as one of the mourners at his funeral. While still at college, Lady Houston, sister of Lord Cathcart, put under his care a comedy, entitled, "*The Coquettes, or the Gallant in the Closet,*" with a strict injunction that its author should be concealed. Boswell exerted his interest among the players to get this piece brought out upon the stage, and made himself further conspicuous by writing the prologue, which was spoken by Mr Parsons. It was condemned at the third performance, and not unjustly, for it was found to be chiefly a bad translation of one of the worst plays

¹ He had two brothers; John, a lieutenant in the army; David, a merchant at Valencia in Spain.

of Corneille. Such, however, was the fidelity of Boswell, that, though universally believed to be the author, and consequently laughed at in the most unmerciful manner, he never divulged the name of the fair writer, nor was it known till she made the discovery herself.

After studying civil law for some time at Edinburgh, Boswell went for one winter to pursue the same study at Glasgow, where he, at the same time, attended the lectures of Dr Adam Smith on moral philosophy and rhetoric. Here he continued, as at Edinburgh, to adopt his companions chiefly from the class of English students attending the university; one of whom, Mr Francis Gentleman, on publishing an altered edition of Southern's tragedy of Oroonoko, inscribed it to Boswell, in a poetical epistle, which concludes thus, in the person of his Muse:

"But where, with honest pleasure, she can find,
Sense, taste, religion, and good nature joined,
There gladly will she raise her feeble voice,
Nor fear to tell that BOSWELL is her choice."

Inspired, by reading and conversation, with an almost enthusiastic notion of London life, Boswell paid his first visit to that metropolis in 1760, and his ardent expectations were not disappointed. The society, amusements, and general style of life which he found in the modern Babylon, and to which he was introduced by the poet Derriok, were suited exactly to his taste and temper. He had already given some specimens of a talent for writing occasional essays and poetical *jeux d'esprit*, in periodical works, and he therefore appeared before the wits of the metropolis as entitled to some degree of attention. He was chiefly indebted, however, for their friendship, to Alexander, Earl of Eglintoune, one of the most amiable and accomplished noblemen of his time, who, being of the same county, and from his earliest years acquainted with the family of Auchinleck, insisted that young Boswell should have an apartment in his house, and introduced him, as Boswell himself used to say, "into the circle of the great, the gay, and the ingenious." Lord Eglintoune carried his young friend along with him to Newmarket; an adventure which seems to have made a strong impression on Boswell's imagination, as he celebrated it in a poem called "the Cub at Newmarket," which was published by Dodsley, in 1762, in 4to. The *cub* was himself, as appears from the following extract:

"Lord Eglintoune, who loves, you know,
A little dash of whim or so,
By chance a curious *cub* had got,
On Scotia's mountains newly caught."

In such terms was Boswell content to speak of himself in print, even at this early period of life, and, what adds to the absurdity of the whole affair, he could not rest till he had read "the Cub at Newmarket" in manuscript to Edward Duke of York, and obtained permission from his royal highness to dedicate it to him.

It was the wish of Lord Auchinleck that his son should apply himself to the law, a profession to which two generations of the family had now been devoted, and in which Lord Auchinleck thought that his own eminent situation would be of advantage to the success of a third. Boswell himself, though, in obedience to his father's desire, he had studied civil law at the colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow, was exceedingly unwilling to consign himself to the studious life of a barrister at Edinburgh, where at this time the general tone of society was the very reverse of his own temperament, being (if we are to believe Provost Creech) characterized by a degree of puritanical reserve and decorum, not much removed from the rigid observances of the preceding century, while only a very small circle of men of wit and fashion—an oasis in the dreary waste—carried on a

clandestine existence, under the ban, as it were, of the rest of the world. Boswell had already cast his eyes upon the situation of an officer in the foot-guards, as calculated to afford him that indulgence in London society, which he so much desired, while it was, at the same time, not incompatible with his prospects as a Scottish country gentleman.

It was with some difficulty that his father prevailed upon him to return to Scotland, and consult about the choice of a profession. The old judge even took the trouble to put his son through a regular course of instruction in the law, in the hope of inspiring him with an attachment to it. But though he was brought the length of standing his trials as a civilian before a committee of the Faculty, he could not be prevailed upon to enter heartily into his father's views.

During part of the years 1761 and 1762, while confined to Edinburgh, and to this partial and unwilling study of the law, he contrived to alleviate the irksomeness of his situation by cultivating the society of the illustrious men who now cast a kind of glory over Scotland and Scotsmen. Kames, Blair, Robertson, Hume, and Dalrymple, though greatly his seniors, were pleased to honour him with their friendship; more, perhaps, on account of his worthy and dignified parent, than on his own. He also amused himself at this time in contributing *jeux d'esprit* to "a Collection of Original Poems by Scottish Gentlemen," of which two volumes were successively published by Alexander Donaldson, an enterprising bookseller; being an imitation of the "Miscellanies" of Dodsley. Several of the pieces in this collection were noticed very favourably in the Critical Review; and the whole is now valuable as a record of Scottish manners at a particular era. Boswell's pieces were distinguished only by his initials. In one, he characterises himself, saying, as to *la belle passion*,

Boswell does women adore,
And never once means to deceive;
He's in love with at least half a score,
If they're serious, he laughs in his sleeve.

With regard to a more prominent trait of his character, he adds—

— Boswell is modest enough,
Himself not *quite* Phœbus he thinks,
* * * *

He has all the bright fancy of youth,
With the judgment of forty and five;
In short to declare the plain truth,
There is no better fellow alive!

At this time, he cultivated a particular intimacy with the Hon. Andrew Erskine, a younger brother of the musical Earl of Kelly, and who might be said to possess wit by inheritance, his father being remarkable for this property, (though not for good sense,) while his mother was the daughter of Dr Pitcairne. Erskine and Boswell were, in frivolity, *Arcades ambo*; or rather there seemed to be a competition betwixt them, which should exhibit the greater share of that quality. A correspondence, in which this contest seems to be carried on, was published in 1763, and, as there was no attempt to conceal names, the two letter-writers must have been regarded, in that dull and decorous age, as little better than fools—fools for writing in such a strain at all, but doubly fools for laying their folly in such an unperishable shape before the world.

At the end of the year, 1763, Boswell, still retaining his wish to enter the guards, repaired once more to London, to endeavour to obtain a commission. For this purpose he carried recommendations to Charles Duke of Queensberry—the amiable patron of Gay—who, he believed, was able to obtain for him what

he wished. Owing, however, (as is understood,) to the backwardness of Lord Auchinleck to enforce his claims, his patrons put him off from time to time, till he was again obliged to return to Scotland. At length, in the spring of 1763, a compromise was made between the father and his son, the latter agreeing to relinquish his favourite project, and resume the study of the civil law for one winter at Utrecht, with the view of ultimately entering the legal profession, on the condition that, after the completion of his studies, he should be permitted to make what was then called "the grand tour."

Boswell set out for this purpose early in 1763; and, according to the recollection of an ancient inhabitant of Glasgow, his appearance, in riding through that city, on his way from Auchinleck, was as follows:—"A cocked hat, a brown wig, brown coat, made in the court fashion, red vest, corduroy small clothes, and long military-looking boots. He was on horseback, with his servant at a most aristocratic distance behind, and presented a fine specimen of the Scottish country gentleman of that day."—*Edin. Lit. Jour.* ii, 327.

In Boswell's previous visits to London, he had never had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of Dr Samuel Johnson. He had now that pleasure. On the 16th of May, as he himself takes care to inform us, while sitting in the back-shop of Thomas Davies, the bookseller, No. 8, Russell-street, Covent Garden, Johnson came in, and Boswell was introduced, by Davies, as a young gentleman "from Scotland." Owing to the antipathy of the lexicographer to that country, his conversation with Boswell was not at first of so cordial a description as at all to predicate the remarkable friendship they afterwards formed. Boswell, however, by the vivacity of his conversation, soon beguiled the doctor of his prejudices; and their intimacy was confirmed by a visit which he soon after paid to Johnson at his apartments in the Temple. During the few months which Boswell spent in town before setting out for Utrecht, he applied himself assiduously to cultivate this friendship, taking apartments in the Temple in order that he might be the oftener in the company of the great man. Even at this early period, he began that practice of noting down the conversation of Johnson, which eventually enabled him to compose such a splendid monument to their common memory.

He set out for Utrecht, in August 1763, and, after studying for the winter under the celebrated civilian Trotz, proceeded, according to the compact with his father, upon the tour of Europe. In company with the Earl Marischal, whose acquaintance he had formed, he travelled through Switzerland and Germany, visiting Voltaire at Ferney, and Rousseau in the wilds of Neuchâtel; men whom his regard for the principles of religion might have taught him to avoid, if his itch for the acquaintance of noted characters—one of the most remarkable features of his character—had not forced him into their presence. He afterwards crossed the Alps, and spent some time in visiting the principal cities in Italy. Here he formed an acquaintance with Lord Mountstuart, the eldest son of the Earl of Bute; to whom he afterwards dedicated his law thesis on being admitted to the bar.

At this time, the inhabitants of the small island of Corsica were engaged in their famous struggle for liberty, against the Genoese, and Pasquale de Paoli, their heroic leader, was, for the time, one of the most noted men in Europe. Boswell, struck by an irrepressible curiosity regarding this person, sailed to Corsica, in autumn 1765, and introduced himself to Paoli at his palace, by means of a letter from Rousseau. He was received with much distinction and kindness, and noted down a good deal of the very striking conversation of the Corsican chief. After a residence of some weeks in the island, during which he made himself acquainted with all its natural and moral features, he returned through

France, and arrived in London, February 1766, his journey being hastened by intelligence of the death of his mother. Dr Johnson received him, as he passed through London, with renewed kindness and friendship.

Boswell now returned to Scotland, and, agreeably to the treaty formed with Lord Auchinleck, entered (July 26, 1766) as a member of the faculty of advocates. His temper, however, was still too volatile for the studious pursuit of the law, and he did not make that progress in his profession, which might have been expected from the numerous advantages with which he commenced. The Douglas cause was at this time pending, and Boswell, who was a warm partizan of the young claimant, published (November 1767) a pamphlet, entitled, "The Essence of the Douglas Cause," in answer to one, entitled "Considerations on the Douglas Cause," in which a strenuous effort had been made to prove the claimant an impostor. It is said that Mr Boswell's exertions on this occasion were of material service in exciting a popular prepossession in favour of the doubtful heir. This, however, was the most remarkable appearance made by Mr Boswell, as a lawyer, if it can be called so.

His Corsican tour, and the friendship of Paoli, had made a deep impression on Boswell's mind. He conceived that he had seen and made himself acquainted with what had been seen and known by few; and he was perpetually talking of the islanders and their chief. This mania, which was rather, perhaps, to be attributed to his vain desire of showing himself off in connection with a subject of popular talk, than any appreciation of the noble character of the Corsican struggle, at length obtained him the nick-name of *Paoli*, or *Paoli Boswell*. Resolving that the world at large should participate in what he knew of Corsica, he published, in the spring of 1768, his account of that island, which was printed in 8vo by the celebrated brothers, Foulis, at Glasgow, and was well received. The sketches of the island and its inhabitants, are lively and amusing; and his memoir of Paoli, which follows the account of the island, is a spirited narrative of patriotic deeds and sufferings. The work was translated into the German, Dutch, French, and Italian languages, and every where infected its readers with its own enthusiastic feeling in behalf of the oppressed islanders. Dr Johnson thus expressed himself regarding it:—"Your journal is curious and delightful; I know not whether I could name any narrative by which curiosity is better excited or better gratified." On the other hand, Johnson joined the rest of the world in thinking that the author indulged too much personally in his enthusiasm upon the subject, and advised him, in a letter, dated March 23, 1768, to "empty his head of Corsica." Boswell was so vain of his book, as to pay a visit to London, in the spring court vacation, chiefly for the purpose of seeking Dr Johnson's approbation more at large.

In the following winter, a patent was obtained, for the first time, by Ross, the manager of the Edinburgh theatre; but, nevertheless, a violent opposition was still maintained against this public amusement by the more rigid portion of the citizens. Ross, being anxious to appease his enemies, solicited Boswell to write a prologue for the opening of the house, which request was readily complied with. The verses were, as Lord Mansfield characterised them, witty and conciliating; and their effect, being aided by friends properly placed in different parts of the house, was instantaneous and most triumphant; the tide of opposition was turned, the loudest plaudits were given, and Ross at once entered upon a very prosperous career.

In 1769, Boswell paid a visit to Ireland, where he spent six or seven weeks, chiefly at Dublin, and enjoyed the society of Lord Charlemont, Dr Leland, Mr Flood, Dr Macbride, and other eminent persons of that kingdom, not forgetting the celebrated George Falconer, the friend of Swift and Chesterfield. Viscount,

afterwards Marquis Townshend, was then Lord Lieutenant, and the congeniality of their dispositions united them in the closest friendship. He enjoyed a great advantage in the union of one of his female cousins to Mr Sibthorpe, of the county of Down, a gentleman of high influence, who was the means of introducing him into much good society. Another female cousin, Miss Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Mr Montgomery of Lainshaw, accompanied him on the expedition; and not only added to his satisfaction by her own delightful company, but caused him to be received with much kindness by her numerous and respectable relations. This jaunt was the means of converting Boswell from a resolution, which he appears to have formed, to live a single life. He experienced so much pleasure from the conversation of Miss Montgomery, that he was tempted to seek her society for life in a matrimonial engagement. He had resolved, he said, never to marry—had always protested, at least, that a large fortune would be indispensable. He was now, however, impressed with so high an opinion of her particular merit, that he would waive that consideration altogether, provided she would waive his faults also, and accept him for better for worse. Miss Montgomery, who was really an eligible match, being related to the noble family of Eglington, while her father laid claim to the dormant peerage of Lyle, acceded to his proposal with corresponding frankness; and it was determined that they should be married at the end of the year, after he should have paid one parting visit to London.

Before this visit was paid, Mr Boswell was gratified in the highest degree, by the arrival of General Paoli, who, having been forced to abandon his native island, in consequence of the French invasion, had sought that refuge on the shores of Britain, which has never yet been refused to the unfortunate of any country. In autumn, 1769, General Paoli visited Scotland and Boswell; an account of his progress through the country, with Boswell in his train, is given in the Scots Magazine of the time. Both on this occasion, and on his subsequent visit to London, Boswell attended the exiled patriot with an obsequious fidelity, arising no doubt as much from his desire of appearing in the company of a noted character, as from gratitude for former favours of a similar kind. Among other persons to whom he introduced his Corsican friend, was Dr Johnson; an entirely opposite being, in destiny and character, but who, nevertheless, was at some pains to converse with the unfortunate stranger—Boswell acting as interpreter. It would be curious to know in what light Paoli, who was a high-minded man, beheld his eccentric *ciceroné*.

During the time of his visit to London, September, 1769, the jubilee took place at Stratford, to celebrate the birth of Shakspeare. As nearly all the literary, and many of the fashionable persons of the day were collected at this solemnity, Boswell entered into it with a great deal of spirit, and played, it is said, many fantastic tricks, more suited to a carnival scene on the continent, than to a sober festival in England. To pursue a contemporary account, "One of the most remarkable masks upon this occasion was James Boswell, Esq. in the dress of an armed Corsican chief. He entered the amphitheatre about 12 o'clock. He wore a short, dark-coloured coat of coarse cloth, scarlet waistcoat and breeches, and black spatterdashes; his cap or bonnet was of black cloth; on the front of it was embroidered in gold letters, *Viva la liberts*; and on one side of it was a handsome blue feather and cockade, so that it had an elegant as well as a warlike appearance. On the breast of his coat was sewed a Moor's head, the crest of Corsica, surrounded with branches of laurel. He had also a cartridge-pouch, into which was stuck a stiletto, and on his left side a pistol was hung upon the belt of his cartridge-pouch. He had a fusée slung across his shoulder, *wore no powder in his hair*! but had it plaited at full

length, with a knot of blue ribbons at the end of it. He had, by way of staff, a very curious vine all of one piece, with a bird finely carved upon it, emblematical of the sweet bard of Avon. He wore no mask; saying, that it was not proper for a gallant Corsican. So soon as he came into the room, he drew universal attention. The novelty of the Corsican dress, its becoming appearance, and the character of that brave nation, concurred to distinguish the armed Corsican chief. He was first accosted by Mrs Garrick, with whom he had a good deal of conversation. Mr Boswell danced both a minuet and a country dance with a very pretty Irish lady, Mrs Sheldon, wife to captain Sheldon of the 38th regiment of foot, who was dressed in a genteel domino, and before she danced, threw off her mask." *London Magazine, September, 1769*, where there is a portrait of the modern Xenophon in this strange guise.¹

On the 25th of November, he was married, at Lainshaw, in Ayrshire, to Miss Montgomery,² and what is rather a remarkable circumstance, his father was married on the same day, at Edinburgh, to a second wife. With admirable sense, affection, and generosity of heart, the wife of James Boswell possessed no common share of wit and pleasantry. One of her bon mots is recorded by her husband. Thinking that Johnson had too much influence over him, she said, with some warmth, "I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear." Once, when Boswell was mounted upon a horse which he had brought pretty low by *riding the country* for an election, and was boasting that he was a horse of *blood*, "I hope so," said she, drily, "for I am sure he has no *flesh*." Her good-humoured husband kept a collection of her good things, under the title of *Uxoriana*. Perhaps her best property was her discretion as a housewife and a mother; a quality much needed on *her* side of the house, since it was so deficient on that of her husband. In a letter from Auchinleck, 23d August, 1773, Dr Johnson thus speaks of her: "Mrs Boswell has the mien and manner of a gentlewoman, and such a person and manner as could not in any place be either admired or condemned. She is in a proper degree inferior to

¹ Mr Croker has mentioned, in his edition of the life of Johnson, that on this occasion he had the words "Corsica Boswell" in a scroll of gilt letters round his hat. But perhaps the above account somewhat invalidates the statement. Boswell, however, is known to have been ambitious of some such pseudonym as Corsica, from an idea he entertained, that every man, aiming at distinction, should be known by a soubriquet, derived from the thing or place by which he had gained celebrity. He seems to have adopted this fancy from the Roman fashion, of which *Scipio Africanus* is an instance. Thus, he encouraged a proposal for calling Johnson by the epithet *Dictionary Johnson*.

² It has been already mentioned, that Boswell's courtship took place, or at least commenced in Ireland. I cannot help thinking that the following composition, published in his name by his son, must have had a reference to this transaction. It is stated by Sir Alexander to have been written to an Irish air:—

O Larghan Clanbrassil, how sweet is thy sound!
To my tender remembrance as Love's sacred ground;
For there Marg'ret Caroline first charm'd my sight,
And fill'd my young heart with a flutt'ring delight.

When I thought her my own, ah! too short seem'd the day
For a jaunt to Downpatrick, or a trip on the sea;
'To express what I felt then, all language were vain,
'Twas in truth what the poets have *studied* to feign.

But, too late, I found even she could deceive,
And nothing was left but to sigh, weep, and rave;
Distracted, I flew from my dear native shore,
Resolved to see Larghan Clanbrassil no more.

Yet still in some moments enchanted I find
A ray of her fondness beams soft on my mind;
While thus in bless'd fancy my angel I see,
All the world is a Larghan Clanbrassil to me.

her husband; she cannot rival him, nor can he ever be ashamed of her." She died in June, 1789, leaving two sons, Alexander and James, and three daughters, Veronica, Euphemia, and Elizabeth.

For two or three years after his marriage, Boswell appears to have lived a quiet professional life at Edinburgh, paying only short occasional visits to London. In autumn, 1773, Dr Johnson gratified him by coming to Edinburgh, and proceeding in his company on a tour through the north of Scotland and the Western Islands. On this occasion, Boswell kept a journal, as usual, of every remarkable part of Dr Johnson's conversation. The journey being made rather late in the season, the two travellers encountered some hardships, and a few dangers; but they were highly pleased with what they saw, and the reception they every where met with; Boswell, for his own part, declaring that he would not have missed the acquisition of so many new and delightful ideas as he had gained by this means, for five hundred pounds. Dr Johnson published an account of their trip, and the observations he made during its progress, under the title of a "Journey to the Western Islands;" and Boswell, after the death of his friend, (1785), gave to the world the journal he had kept, as a "Tour to the Hebrides," 1 volume 8vo. The latter is perhaps one of the most entertaining works in the language, though only rendered so, we must acknowledge, at the expense of the author's dignity. It ran through three editions during the first twelvemonth, and has since been occasionally reprinted.

For many years after the journey to the Hebrides, Boswell only enjoyed such snatches of Johnson's company and conversation, as he could obtain by occasional visits to London, during the vacations of the Court of Session. Of these interviews, however, he has preserved such ample and interesting records, as must make us regret that he did not live entirely in London. It appears that, during the whole period of his acquaintance with Johnson, he paid only a dozen visits to London, and spent with him only a hundred and eighty days in all; which, added to the time which they spent in their northern journey between August 18th and November 23d, 1773, makes the whole period during which the biographer enjoyed any intercourse with his subject, only two hundred and seventy-six days, or one hundredth part of Johnson's life.

The strangely vain and eccentric conduct of Boswell had, long ere this period, rendered him almost as notable a character as any of those whom he was so anxious to see. His social and good-humoured character gained him universal friendship; but this friendship was never attended with perfect respect. Men of inferior qualifications despised the want of natural dignity, which made him go about in attendance upon every great man, and from no higher object in life than that of being the commemorator of their conversations. It is lamentable to state that, among those who despised him, was his own father; and even other relations, from whom respect might have been more imperatively required, were fretted by his odd habits. "Old Lord Auchinleck," says Sir Walter Scott, "was an able lawyer, a good scholar, after the manner of Scotland, and highly valued his own advantages as a man of good estate and ancient family, and, moreover, he was a strict presbyterian and whig of the old Scottish cast." To this character, his son presented a perfect contrast—a light-headed lawyer, an aristocrat only in theory, an episcopalian, and a tory. But it was chiefly with the unsettled and undignified conduct of his son, that the old gentleman found fault. "There's nae hope for Jamie, man," he said to a friend about the time of the journey to the Hebrides; "Jamie's gane clean gyte: What do ye think, man? he's aff wi' the land-louping scoundrel of a Corsican; and whase tail do ye think he has pinned himself to now, man?" Here the old judge summoned up a sneer of most sovereign contempt. "A dominie, man, (meaning Johnson)

an auld dominie, that keepit a schule, and ca'd it an academy!" By the death of Lord Auchinleck, in 1782, Boswell was at length freed from what he had always felt to be a most painful restraint, and at the same time became possessed of his paternal estate.

Boswell's mode of life, his social indulgences, and his frequent desertion of business for the sake of London literary society, tended greatly to embarrass his circumstances; and he was induced to try if they could be repaired by exertions in the world of politics. In 1784, when the people were in a state of most alarming excitement in consequence of Mr Fox's India Bill, and the elevation of Mr Pitt, he wrote a pamphlet, entitled, "A Letter to the People of Scotland, on the Present State of the Nation." Of this work Dr Johnson has thus pronounced his approbation:—"I am very much of your opinion, and, like you, feel great indignation at the style in which the King is every day treated. Your paper contains very considerable knowledge of history and of the constitution, very properly produced and applied." The author endeavoured, by means of this pamphlet, to obtain the favourable notice of Mr Pitt; but we are informed that, though the youthful minister honoured the work with his approbation, both on this occasion, and on several others, his efforts to procure an introduction to political life were attended with a mortifying want of success. He was, nevertheless, induced to appear once more as a pamphleteer in 1785, when he published a second "Letter to the People of Scotland," though upon an humbler theme, namely, "on the alarming attempt to infringe the articles of Union, and introducing a most pernicious innovation, by diminishing the numbers of the Lords of Session." This proposal had been brought forward in the House of Commons; the salaries of the judges were to be raised, and, that the expense might not fall upon the country, their number was to be reduced to ten. Boswell (to use a modern phrase) immediately commenced a vehement *agitation* in Scotland, to oppose the bill; and among other measures which he took for exciting public attention, published this letter. His chief argument was, that the number of the judges was established immutably by the act of union; an act which entered into the very constitution of parliament itself, and how then could parliament touch it? He also showed that the number of fifteen, which Buchanan had pronounced too small to form a free or liberal institution, was little enough to avoid the character of a tyrannical junto. He further argued the case in the following absurd, but characteristic terms:—"Is a court of ten the same with a court of fifteen? Is a two-legged animal the same with a four-legged animal? I know nobody who will gravely defend that proposition, except one grotesque philosopher, whom ludicrous fable represents as going about avowing his hunger, and wagging his tail, fain to become cannibal, and eat his deceased brethren." The agitation prevailed, and the court remained as it had been, for another generation.

Boswell, whose practice at the Scottish bar was never very great, had long wished to remove to the English, in order that he might live entirely in London. His father's reluctance, however, had hitherto prevented him. Now that the old gentleman was dead, he found it possible to follow his inclination, and accordingly he began, from time to time, to keep his terms at the Inner Temple. His resolution was thus sanctioned by a letter to him from Dr Johnson, which exhibits at once a cautious and encouraging view of the mode of life he proposed to enter upon:—

"I remember, and entreat you to remember, that *virtus est vitium fugere*; the first approach to riches is security from poverty. The condition upon which you have my consent to settle in London, is that your expense never exceeds your annual income. Fixing this basis of security, you cannot be hurt, and

you may be very much advanced. The loss of your Scottish business, which is all you can lose, is not to be reckoned any equivalent to the hopes and possibilities that open here upon you. If you succeed, the question of prudence is at an end; any body will think that done right which ends happily; and though your expectations, of which I would not advise you to talk too much, should not be totally answered, you can hardly fail to get friends who will do for you all that your present situation allows you to hope; and if, after a few years, you should return to Scotland, you will return with a mind supplied by various conversations and many opportunities of inquiry, with much knowledge and materials for reflection and instruction."

At Hilary Term, 1786, he was called to the English bar, and in the ensuing winter removed his family to London. His first professional effort is said to have been of a somewhat ominous character. A few of the idlers of Westminster Hall, conspiring to quiz poor *Boszy*, as he was familiarly called, made up an imaginary case, full of all kinds of absurdities, which they caused to be presented to him for his opinion. He, taking all for real, returned a *bona-fide* note of judgment, which, while it almost killed his friends with laughter, covered himself with ineffaceable ridicule.

It is to be regretted that this decisive step in life was not adopted by Boswell at an earlier period, as thereby he might have rendered his Life of Johnson still more valuable than it is. Johnson having died upwards of a year before his removal, it was a step of little importance in a literary point of view; nor did it turn out much better in respect of professional profit.

So early as 1781, when Mr Burke was in power, that great man had endeavoured to procure an extension of the government patronage towards Boswell. "We must do something for you," he said, "for our own sakes," and recommended him to General Conway for a vacant place, by a letter, in which his character was drawn in glowing colours. The place was not obtained; but Boswell declared that he valued the letter more. He was now enabled, by the interest of Lord Lowther, to obtain the situation of Recorder of Carlisle; a circumstance which produced the following

WORDS TO BE SET FOR A RECORDER.

Boswell once flamed with patriot zeal,
His bow was never bent;
Now he no public wrongs can feel
Till *LOWTHER* nods assent.

To seize the throne while faction tries
And would the Prince command,
The Tory Boswell coolly cries,
My King's in *Westmoreland*.

The latter verse is an allusion to the famous Regency question; while, in the former, Boswell is reminded of his zealous exertions in behalf of monarchy in the pamphlet on the India Bill. It happening soon after that Dr John Douglas, a fellow-countryman of Boswell's, was made Bishop of Carlisle, a new and happier epigram appeared:—

Of old, ere wise concord united this isle,
Our neighbours of Scotland were foes at Carlisle;
But now what a change have we here on the Border,
When Douglas is Bishop and Boswell Recorder!

Finding this recordership, at so great a distance from London, attended with many inconveniences, Boswell, after holding it for about two years, resigned it. It was well known at this time that he was very anxious to get into parliament;

and many wondered that so sound a tory should not have obtained a seat at the hands of some great parliamentary proprietor. Perhaps this wonder may be explained by a passage in his last Letter to the People of Scotland. "Though ambitious," he says, "I am uncorrupted; and I envy not high situations which are attained by the want of public virtue in men born without it, or by the prostitution of public virtue in men born with it. Though power, and wealth, and magnificence, may at first dazzle, and are, I think, most desirable, no wise man will, upon sober reflection, envy a situation which he feels he could not enjoy. My friend—my 'Mæcenas atavis edite regibus'—Lord Mountstuart, flattered me once very highly without intending it. 'I would do any thing for you,' he said, 'but bring you into parliament, for I could not be sure but you would oppose me in something the very next day.' His lordship judged well. Though I should consider, with much attention, the opinion of such a friend before taking my resolution, most certainly I should oppose him in any measure which I was satisfied ought to be opposed. I cannot exist with pleasure, if I have not an honest independence of mind and of conduct; for, though no man loves good eating and drinking better than I do, I prefer the broiled blade-bone of mutton and humble port of 'downright Shippen,' to all the luxury of all the statesmen who play the political game all through."

He offered himself, however, as a candidate for Ayrshire, at the general election of 1790; but was defeated by the interest of the minister, which was exerted for a more pliant partizan. On this and all other proper occasions, he made no scruple to avow himself a Tory and a royalist; saying, however, in the words of his pamphlet just quoted, "I can drink, I can laugh, I can converse, in perfect good humour, with Whigs, with Republicans, with Dissenters, with Moravians, with Jews—they can do me no harm—my mind is made up—my principles are fixed—but I would vote with Tories, and pray with a Dean and Chapter."

If his success at the bar and in the political world was not very splendid, he consoled himself, so far as his own fancy was to be consoled, by the grateful task of preparing for the press his *magnum opus*—the Life of Dr Johnson. This work appeared in 1791, in two volumes, quarto, and was received with an avidity suitable to its entertaining and valuable character. Besides a most minute narrative of the literary and domestic life of Johnson, it contained notes of all the remarkable expressions which the sage had ever uttered in Mr Boswell's presence, besides some similar records from other hands, and an immense store of original letters. As decidedly the most faithful biographical portraiture in existence, and referring to one of the most illustrious names in literature, it is unquestionably the first book of its class; and not only so, but there is no other biographical work at all approaching to it in merit. While this is the praise deserved by the work, it happens, rather uncommonly, that no similar degree of approbation can be extended to the writer. Though a *great work*, it is only so by accident, or rather through the persevering assiduity of the author in a course which no man fit to produce a designedly great work could have submitted to. It is only great, by a multiplication and agglomeration of little efforts. The preparation of a second edition of the life of Dr Johnson, was the last literary performance of Boswell, who died, May 19, 1795, at his house in Great Poland Street, London, in the 55th year of his age; having been previously ill for five weeks of a disorder which had commenced as an intermitting fever. He was buried at the family seat of Auchinleck.

The character of Boswell is so amply shadowed forth by the foregoing account of his life, that little more need be said about it. That he was a good-natured social man, possessed of considerable powers of imagination and humour, and

well acquainted with literature and the world of common life, is universally acknowledged. He has been, at the same time, subjected to just ridicule for his total want of that natural dignity by which men of the world secure and maintain the respect of their fellow-creatures in the daily business of life. He wanted this to such a degree, that even those relations whose respect was most necessary, according to the laws of nature, could scarcely extend it; and from the same cause, his intellectual exertions, instead of shedding a lustre upon his name, have proved rather a kind of blot in his pedigree. His unmanly obsequiousness to great men—even though some of these were great only by the respect due to talent—his simpleton drollery—his degrading employment as a chronicler of private conversations—his mean tastes, among which was the disgusting one of a fondness for seeing executions—and the half folly, half vanity, with which he could tell the most delicate things, personal to himself and his family, in print—have altogether conspired to give him rather notoriety than true fame, and, though perhaps leaving him affection, deprive him entirely of respect. It was a remarkable point in the character of such a man, that, with powers of entertainment almost equal to Shakspeare's description of Yorick, he was subject to grievous fits of melancholy in private. One of his works, not noticed in the preceding narrative, was a series of papers under the title of "The Hypochondriac," which appeared in the London Magazine for 1782, and were intended to embody the varied feelings of a man subject to that distemper.

Perhaps, it is only justice to Boswell, after expressing the severe character which the world has generally pronounced upon him,¹ to give his own description and estimate of himself, from his Tour to the Hebrides. "Think of a gentleman of ancient blood, the pride of which was his predominant passion. He was then in his 33d year, and had been about four years happily married: his inclination was to be a soldier; but his father, a respectable judge, had pressed him into the profession of the law. He had travelled a good deal, and seen many varieties of human life. He had thought more than any body supposed, and had a pretty good stock of general learning and knowledge. He had all Dr Johnson's principles, with some degree of relaxation. He had rather too little than too much prudence; and, his imagination being lively, he often said things, of which the effect was very different from the intention. He resembled sometimes 'the best-natured man with the worst-natured muse.' He cannot deny himself the vanity of finishing with the encomium of Dr Johnson, whose friendly partiality to the companion of his tour, represents him as one 'whose acuteness would help any inquiry, and whose gaiety of conversation, and civility of manners, are sufficient to counteract the inconveniencies of travel, in countries less hospitable than we have passed.'"

BOSWELL, ALEXANDER and JAMES, sons of the preceding. It has been remarked, as creditable to the memory of James VI., that he educated two sons, who were both, in point of personal and intellectual character, much above the standard of ordinary men. The same remark will apply to the biographer of Johnson, who, whatever may be thought of his own character, reared two sons who stood forth afterwards as a credit to his parental care. A wish to educate his children in the best manner, was one of the ruling passions of this extraordinary *littera-*

¹ Sir William Forbes, in his Life of Beattie, thus speaks of Boswell:—"His warmth of heart towards his friends was very great; and I have known few men who possessed a stronger sense of piety, or more fervent devotion, (unctured, no doubt, with a little share of superstition, which had probably been in some degree fostered by his habits of intimacy with Dr Johnson) perhaps not always sufficient to regulate his imagination or direct his conduct, yet still genuine, and founded both in his understanding and his heart. For Mr Boswell I entertained a sincere regard, which he returned by the strongest proof in his power to confer, by leaving me the guardian of his children."

teur in his latter years. He placed both his sons at Westminster school, and afterwards in the university of Oxford, at an expense which appears to have been not altogether justified by his own circumstances.

Alexander Boswell, who was born, October 9, 1775, succeeded his father in the possession of the family estate. He was distinguished as a spirited and amiable country gentleman, and also as a literary antiquary of no inconsiderable erudition. Perhaps his taste, in the latter capacity, was greatly fostered by the possession of an excellent collection of old manuscripts and books, which was gathered together by his ancestors, and has acquired the well-known title of the "AUCHINLECK LIBRARY." From the stores of this collection, in 1804, Sir Walter Scott published the romance of "Sir Tristram," which is judged by its learned editor to be the earliest specimen of poetry by a Scottish writer now in existence. Besides this invaluable present to the literary world, the Auchinleck Library furnished, in 1812, the black letter original of a disputation held between John Knox and Quentin Kennedy at Maybole in 1562, which was printed at the time by Knox himself, but had latterly become so scarce, that hardly another copy, besides that in the Auchinleck Library, was known to exist. Mr Boswell was at the expense of printing a fac-simile edition of this curiosity, which was accepted by the learned, as a very valuable contribution to our stock of historical literature.

The taste of Alexander Boswell was of a much manlier and more sterling character than that of his father; and instead of being alternately the active and passive cause of amusement to his friends, he shone exclusively in the former capacity. He possessed, indeed, a great fund of volatile talent, and, in particular, a most pungent vein of satire, which, while it occasionally inspired fear and dislike in those who were liable to become its objects, produced no admiration which was not also accompanied by respect. At an early period of his life, some of his poetical *jeux d'esprit* occasionally made a slight turmoil in that circle of Scottish society in which he moved. He sometimes also exercised his pen in that kind of familiar vernacular poetry which Burns again brought into fashion; and in the department of song-writing he certainly met with considerable success. A small volume, entitled, "Songs chiefly in the Scottish Dialect," was published by him, anonymously, in 1803, with the motto, "Nulla venenato litera mixta joco," a motto which it would have been well for him if he had never forgot. In a brief note on the second folio of this little work, he mentioned that he was induced to lay these trivial compositions in an authentic shape before the public, because corrupted copies had previously made their appearance. The truth is, some of his songs had already acquired a wide acceptance in the public, and were almost as familiar as those of Burns.¹ The volume also contains some English compositions, which still retain a popularity—such as "Taste Life's Glad Moments," which, he tells us, he translated at Leipsig, in 1795, from the German song, "Freu't euch des Lebens." Mr Boswell also appears, from various compositions in this little volume, to have had a turn for writing popular Irish songs. One or two of his attempts in that style, are replete with the grotesque character of the nation.²

¹ We may instance, "Auld Gudeman, ye're a Dfucken Carle," "Jenny's Bawbee," and "Jenny Dang the Weaver."

² It is hardly worth while to say more of a few fugitive lyrics; but yet we cannot help pointing out a remarkably beautiful antithesis, in one styled "The Old Chieftain to his Sons:"—

"The auld will speak, the young maun hear,
Be canty, but be gude and leal;
Your ain lils aye hae heart to bear,
Anither's aye hae heart to feel."

In another he thus ludicrously adverts, in a fictitious character, to the changes which modern

In 1810, Mr Boswell published a small volume under the title, "Edinburgh, or the Ancient Royalty, a Sketch of former Manners, by Simon Gray." It is a kind of city eclogue, in which a farmer, who knew the town in a past age, is supposed to converse regarding its modern changes, with a city friend. It contains some highly curious memorials of the simple manners which obtained in Edinburgh, before the change described in the song just quoted. At a subsequent period, Mr Boswell established a private printing-press at Auchinleck, from which he issued various trifles in prose and verse, some of which are characterised by much humour. In 1816, appeared a poetical tale, somewhat like Burns' "Tam o' Shanter," entitled, "Skeldon Haughs, or the Sow is Flitted!" being founded on a traditionary story regarding an Ayrshire feud of the fifteenth century.¹ In 1831, Mr Boswell was honoured with, what had been the chief object of his ambition for many years, a baronetcy of Great Britain. About this period, politics ran very high in the country, and Sir Alexander, who had inherited all the Tory spirit of his father, sided warmly with the ministry. In

manners, rather than time, have produced upon the external and internal economy of the Scottish capital:—

Hech! what a change hae we now in this town!
 A' now are braw lads, the lasses a' glancin';
 Folk maun be dizzy gaun aye in this roun',
 For dell a hae't 's done now but feastin' and dancin'.
 Gowd's no that scanty in ilk siller pock,
 Whan lika bit laddie maun hae his bit staigie;
 But I kent the day when there was na a Jock,
 But trotted about upon honest shanks-naigie.
 Little was stown then, and less gaed to waste,
 Barely a mullin for mice or for rattens;
 The thrifty gudewife to the flesh-market paced,
 Her equipage a'—just a gude pair o' pattens.
 Folk were as gude then, and friends were as leal;
 Though coaches were scant, wi' their cattle a' cantrin';
 Right aise we were tell't by the housemaid or chiel,
 'Sir, an ye please, here's yer lass and a lantern.'
 The town may be cloutit and pieced till it meets,
 A' neebors benorth and besouth without haltin'
 Brigs may be biggit ower lums and ower streets,
 The Nor-Loch itself heap'd as heigh as the Calton.
 But whar is true friendship, and whar will you see
 A' that is gude, honest, modest, and thrify?
 Tak gray hairs and wrinkles, and hirple wi' me,
 And think on the seventeen-hundred and fifty.

¹ Kennedy of Bargeny tethered a sow on the lands of his feudal enemy Crawford of Kerse, and resolved that the latter gentleman, with all his vassals, should not be permitted to remove or "fit" the animal. To defeat this bravado at the very first, the adherents of Crawford assembled in great force, and entered into active fight with the Kennedies, who, with their sow, were at length driven back with great slaughter, though not till the son of the laird of Kerse, who had led his father's forces, was slain. The point of the poem lies in the dialogue which passed between the old laird and a messenger who came to apprise him of the event:—

"Is the sow flitted? tell me, loon!
 Is auld Kyle up and Carrick down?
 Mingled wi' sobe, his broken tale
 The youth began; Ah, Kerse, bewail
 This luckless day!—Your blythe son, John,
 Ah, wae's my heart, lies on the lean—
 And he could sing like only merle!
 'Is the sow flitted?' cried the carle;
 'Gie me my answer—short and plain,—
 Is the sow flitted, yammerin' wean!
 'The sow (dell tak her)'s ower the water—
 And at their backs the Crawfords batter—
 The Carrick couths are cowed and bitted!
 'My thumb for Jock! THE SOW IS FLITTED.'"

the beginning of the year 1821, a few gentlemen of similar prepossessions, conceived it to be not only justifiable, but necessary, that the fervour of the radical press, as it was called, should be met by a corresponding fervour on the other side, so that the enemies of the government might be combated with their own weapons. Hence arose a newspaper in Edinburgh styled the *Beacon*, to which Sir Alexander Boswell contributed a few *jeux d'esprit*, aimed at the leading men on the other side, and alleged to have far exceeded the proper line of political sarcasm. These being continued in a subsequent paper, which was published at Glasgow, under the name of the *Sentinel*, at length were traced to their author by James Stuart, Esq. younger of Dunearn, who had been the object of some of the rudest attacks, and repeatedly accused of cowardice. The consequence of this discovery was a challenge from Mr Stuart to Sir Alexander, and the hostile parties having met near Auchtertool in Fife, March 26, 1822, the latter received a shot in the bottom of the neck, which terminated his existence next day. Mr Stuart was tried for this offence, by the High Court of Justiciary, but most honourably acquitted. Sir Alexander left a widow and several children.

BOSWELL, JAMES, the second son of the biographer of Johnson, was, as already mentioned, educated at Westminster School. He was afterwards entered of Brazen-nose College, Oxford, and there had the honour to be elected fellow upon the Vinerian foundation. Mr Boswell possessed talents of a superior order, sound classical scholarship, and a most extensive and intimate knowledge of our early literature. In the investigation of every subject he pursued, his industry, judgment, and discrimination, were equally remarkable; his memory was unusually tenacious and accurate; and he was always as ready, as he was competent, to communicate his stores of information for the benefit of others. Mr Malone was influenced by these qualifications, added to the friendship which he entertained for Mr Boswell, to select him as his literary executor; and to his care this eminent commentator intrusted the publication of an enlarged and amended edition of Shakspeare, which he had long been meditating. As Mr Malone's papers were left in a state scarcely intelligible, it is believed that no man but one of kindred genius like Mr Boswell, could have rendered them at all available. This, however, Mr Boswell did in the most efficient manner; farther enriching the work with many excellent notes of his own, besides collating the text with all the earlier editions. This work, indeed, which extends to twenty-one volumes, 8vo, must be considered as not only the most elaborate edition of Shakspeare, but perhaps the greatest *edition* of any work in the English language. In the first volume, Mr Boswell has stepped forward to defend the literary reputation of Mr Malone against the severe attacks made by a writer of distinguished eminence, upon many of his critical opinions and statements; a task of great delicacy, and which Mr Boswell performed in so spirited and gentlemanly a manner, that his preface may be fairly quoted as a model of controversial writing. In the same volume are inserted "*Memoirs of Mr Malone*," originally printed by Mr Boswell for private circulation; and a valuable essay on the metre and phraseology of Shakspeare, the materials for which were partly collected by Mr Malone, but which was entirely indebted to Mr Boswell for arrangement and completion.

Mr Boswell inherited from his father a keen relish of the society of the metropolis, and accordingly he spent his life almost exclusively in the Middle Temple. Few men were better fitted to appreciate and contribute to the pleasures of social intercourse; his conversational powers, and the unflinching cheerfulness of his disposition, rendered him everywhere an acceptable guest; but it was the goodness of his heart, that warmth of friendship which knew no bounds

when a call was made upon his services, which formed the sterling excellence, and the brightest feature of Mr Boswell's character. This amiable man and excellent scholar died, February 24, 1822, in the forty-third year of his age, and was buried in the Temple Church, by a numerous train of sorrowing friends. It is a melancholy circumstance, that his brother, Sir Alexander, had just returned from performing the last offices to a beloved brother, when he himself was summoned from existence in the manner above related.

BOWER, ARCHIBALD, a learned person, but of dubious fame, was born on the 17th of January, 1686, near Dundee. He was a younger son of a respectable Catholic family, which, for several centuries, had possessed an estate in Forfarshire. In 1702, he was sent to the Scots College at Douay, where he studied for the church. At the end of the year 1706, having completed his first year of philosophy, he went to Rome, and there, December 9, was admitted into the order of Jesus. After his noviciate, he taught classical literature and philosophy, for two years, at Fano, and subsequently he spent three years at Fermo. In 1717, he was recalled to Rome, to study divinity in the Roman College. His last vows were made at Arezzo, in 1722.

Bower's fame as a teacher was now, according to his own account, spread over all the Italian states, and he had many invitations to reside in different places, to none of which he acceded, till the College of Macerata chose him for their professor. He was now arrived at the mature age of forty; and it was not to have been expected that any sudden change, either in his religious sentiments or in his moral conduct, would take place after that period of life. Probably, however, Bower had never before this time been exposed to any temptation. Being now appointed confessor to the nunnery of St Catherine at Macerata, he is alleged to have commenced a criminal intercourse with a nun of the noble family of Buonacorsi. Alarmed, it is said, for the consequences of his imprudence, he determined upon flying from the dominions of the Pope; a step which involved the greatest danger, as he had previously become connected, in the capacity of counsellor, with the Holy Inquisition, which invariably punished apostasy with death. Bower's own account of his flight sets forth conscientious scruples on the score of religion, as having alone urged him to take that step; but it is hardly credible that a man in his situation could expose his life to imminent danger from a sudden access of scrupulosity. The circumstances of his flight are given in the following terms by himself:

"To execute that design with some safety, I purposed to beg leave of the Inquisitor to visit the virgin at Loretto, but thirteen miles distant, and to pass a week there, but, in the meantime, to make the best of my way to the country of the Grisons, the nearest country to Macerata out of the reach of the Inquisition. Having, therefore, after many conflicts with myself, asked leave to visit the neighbouring sanctuary, and obtained it, I set out on horseback the very next morning, leaving, as I purposed to keep the horse, his full value with the owner. I took the road to Loretto, but turned out of it at a small distance from Recanat, after a most violent struggle with myself, the attempt appearing to me, at that juncture, quite desperate and impracticable; and the dreadful doom reserved for me, should I miscarry, presenting itself to my mind in the strongest light. But the reflection that I had it in my power to avoid being taken alive, and a persuasion that a man in my situation might lawfully avoid it, when every other means failed him, at the expense of his life, revived my staggering resolution; and all my fears ceasing at once, I steered my course to Calvi in the dukedom of Urbino, and from thence through the Romagna into the Bolognese, keeping the by-roads, and at a good distance from the cities of Fano, Pisaro, Rimini, Forli, Faenza and Tivola, through which the high road passed. Thus I advanced very

slowly, travelling, generally speaking, in very bad roads, and often in places where there was no road at all, to avoid, not only the cities and towns, but even the villages. In the meantime, I seldom had any other support than some coarse provisions, and a very small quantity even of them, that the poor shepherds and wood-cleavers could spare me. My horse fared not better than myself; but, in choosing my sleeping-place, I consulted his convenience as much as my own; passing the night where I found most shelter for myself, and most grass for him. In Italy there are very few solitary farm-houses or cottages, the country people there all living together in villages; and I thought it far safer to lie where I could be any way sheltered, than to venture into any of them. Thus I spent seventeen days before I got out of the ecclesiastical state; and I very narrowly escaped being taken or murdered on the very borders of that state. It happened thus:

"I had passed two whole days without any kind of subsistence whatever, meeting nobody in the by-roads that would supply me with any, and fearing to come near any house. As I was not far from the borders of the dominions of the Pope, I thought I should be able to hold out till I got into the Modenese, where I believed I should be in less danger than while I remained in the papal dominions; but finding myself, about noon of the third day, extremely weak and ready to faint, I came into the high road that leads from Bologna to Florence, at a few miles distance from the former city, and alighted at a post-house that stood quite by itself. Having asked the woman of the house whether she had any victuals ready, and being told that she had, I went to open the door of the only room in the house, (that being a place where gentlemen only stop to change horses,) and saw, to my great surprise, a placard pasted on it, with a most minute description of my whole person, and the promise of a reward of 800 crowns, about £300 English money, for delivering me up alive to the inquisition, being a fugitive from the holy tribunal, and 600 crowns for my head. By the same placard, all persons were forbidden, on pain of the greater excommunication, to receive, harbour, or entertain me, to conceal or to screen me, or to be any way aiding or assisting to me in making my escape. This greatly alarmed me, as the reader may well imagine; but I was still more affrighted when entering the room I saw two fellows drinking there, who, fixing their eyes upon me as soon as I came, continued looking at me very steadfastly. I strove, by wiping my face, by blowing my nose, by looking out at the window, to prevent their having a full view of me. But one of them saying, 'The gentleman seems afraid to be seen,' I put up my handkerchief, and turning to the fellow, said boldly, 'What do you mean, you rascal? Look at me, I am not afraid to be seen.' He said nothing, but, looking again steadfastly at me, and nodding his head, went out, and his companion immediately followed him. I watched them, and seeing them with two or three more in close conference, and no doubt consulting whether they should apprehend me or not, I walked that moment into the stable, mounted my horse unobserved by them; and, while they were deliberating in the orchard behind the house, rode off at full speed, and in a few hours got into the Modenese, where I refreshed, both with food and rest, as I was there in no immediate danger, my horse and myself. I was indeed surprised that those fellows did not pursue me; nor can I any other way account for it, but by supposing, what is not improbable, that, as they were strangers as well as myself, and had all the appearance of banditti or ruffians flying out of the dominions of the pope, the woman of the house did not care to trust them with her horses."

Bower now directed his course through the cantons of Switzerland, and as some of these districts were Catholic, though not under the dominion of the inquisition he had occasionally to resume the mode of travelling above described, in order to avoid being taken. At length, May 1726, he reached the Scots

College at Douay, where he threw himself upon the protection of the rector. According to his own narrative, which, however, has been contradicted in many points, he thus proved, that, though he had fled from the horrors of the holy tribunal, and had begun to entertain some doubts upon several parts of the Catholic doctrines, he was not disposed to abandon entirely the profession of faith in which he had been educated. He even describes a correspondence which he entered into with the superior of his order in France, who at length recommended him to make the best of his way to England, in order that he might get fairly beyond the reach of the inquisition. This he did under such circumstances of renewed danger, that he would have been detained at Calais, but for the kindness of an English nobleman, Lord Baltimore, who conveyed him over to Dover in his own yacht. He arrived at London in July or August 1726.

His first friend of any eminence in England was Dr Aspinwall, who, like himself, had formerly belonged to the order of Jesus. His conversations with this gentleman, and with the more celebrated Dr Clarke, and Berkeley bishop of Cloyne, produced, or appeared to produce, such a change in his religious sentiments, that he soon after abjured the Catholic faith. For six years, he continued a protestant, but of no denomination. At length he joined the communion of the church of England, which he professed to consider "as free in her service as any reformed church from the idolatrous practices and superstitions of popery, and less inclined, than many others, to fanaticism and enthusiasm." By his friends he was recommended to Lord Aylmer, who wanted a person to assist him in reading the classics. While thus employed, he conducted a review or magazine, which was started in 1730, under the title "*Historia Literaria*," and was finished in eight volumes, in 1734. Being little acquainted with the English tongue, he composed the early part of this work in Italian, and had it translated by an English student; but before the work was concluded, he had made himself sufficiently acquainted with English, to dispense with his translator. After its conclusion, he was engaged by the publishers of the *Ancient Universal History*, for which work he wrote during a space of nine years, contributing, in particular, the article *Roman History*. It is said that the early part of this production is drawn out to an undue length, considering that there were various other abridgments of that portion of the history of Rome; while the latter part, referring to the Eastern empire, though comparatively novel and valuable, was, from the large space already occupied, cut down into as many paragraphs as it ought to have occupied pages. The second edition of the *Universal History* was committed for revision to Mr Bower's care, and it is said that, though he received £300 from the publishers, he performed his task, involving though it did a very large commercial interest, in the most superficial and unsatisfactory manner. His writings had been so productive before the year 1740, that he then possessed £1100 in South Sea annuities. It is alleged that he now wished to be restored to the bosom of the church, in order that he might share in its bounty as a missionary. In order to conciliate its favour, and attest his sincerity, he is said to have offered to it, through father Shirburn, then provincial of England, the whole of his fortune on loan. The money was received on the conditions stipulated by himself, and was afterwards augmented to £1350, for which, in August 1743, a bond was given, allowing him an annuity equal to seven per cent. upon the principal. He is said to have been so far successful in his object that, in 1744 or 1745, he was re-admitted into, or rather reconciled to the order of Jesus—though it does not appear that he ever received the employment which he expected. In 1747, having been tempted by a considerable offer to write a history of the popes in a style agreeable to protestant feeling, he is alleged to have commenced a correspondence with father Shirburn for the purpose of get-

ting back his money, lest, on breaking again with the church, the whole should be forfeited. He pretended that he had engaged in an illicit intercourse with a lady, to whom the money in reality belonged, and that, in order to disengage himself from a connection which lay heavily upon his conscience, he wished to refund the money. Accordingly, on the 20th of June, 1747, he received it back. If we are to believe himself, he did not lend the money to Shirburn, but to Mr Hill, a Jesuit, who transacted money affairs in his capacity as an attorney. He retracted it, he said, in order to be able to marry. The letters shown as having been written by him to father Shirburn, were, he said, forgeries prepared by catholics in order to destroy his popularity with the protestants. But the literary world has long settled the question against Bower. The letters were published in 1756, by his countryman Dr John Douglas, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, along with a commentary proving their authenticity. The replies of Bower, though ingenious, are by no means satisfactory, and it is obvious that the whole transaction proves him to have been a man who little regarded principle, when he had the prospect of improving his fortune.

The first volume of his *History of the Popes*, was published in 1748; and he was soon after, by the interest of Lord Lyttleton, appointed librarian to Queen Caroline. It must be remarked that this irreproachable nobleman remained the friend of Bower, while all the rest of the world turned their backs upon him; and it must be confessed, that such a fact is calculated to stagger the faith of many even in the acuteness of Bishop Douglas. On the 4th of August, 1749, when he had just turned the grand climacteric, he married a niece of Bishop Nicholson, with a fortune of £4000. In 1751, he published his second volume, and, in 1753, his third, which brought down the history to the death of Pope Stephen. This work, partly from the circumstances of the author, appears to have been received with great favour by the dissenters and more devout party of the church. Bower is alleged by his enemies to have kept up the interest of the publication, by stories of the danger in which he lay from the malignity of the Catholics, who, as he gave out, attempted on one occasion to carry him off by water from Greenwich. Lord Lyttleton, in April 1754, appointed him clerk of the buck warrants. It was in 1756, that his personal reputation received its first grand shock from the exposure of Dr Douglas, who next year published a second tract, as fully condemnatory of his literary character. This latter production, entitled, "*Bower and Tillemont Compared*," showed that a great part of his *History of the Popes* was nothing more than a translation of the French historian. He endeavoured to repel the attack in three laboured pamphlets; but Dr Douglas, in a reply, confirmed his original statements by unquestionable documents. Before the controversy ended, Bower had issued his fourth volume, and, in 1757, an abridgment of what was published appeared at Amsterdam. The fifth volume appeared in 1761, during which year he also published "*Authentic Memoirs concerning the Portuguese Inquisition*, in a series of letters to a friend," 8vo. The *History of the Popes* was finally completed in seven volumes; and on the 3rd of September, 1766, the author died at his house in Bond Street, in the eighty-first year of his age.¹ He was buried in Mary-le-bone church-yard, where there is a monument to him, bearing the following inscription:

"A man exemplary for every social virtue. Justly esteemed by all who knew him for his strict honesty and integrity. A faithful friend and a sincere Christian.

"False witnesses rose up against him, and laid to his charge things that he

¹ A letter written at the request of his widow to notify his death to his nephew in Scotland (which I have seen,) mentions that he bore a final illness of three weeks "in every way suitable to the character of a good Christian."

knew not; they imagined wickedness in their hearts and practised it: their delight is in lies: they conspired together, and laid their net to destroy him guiltless: the very objects came together against him, they gaped upon him with their mouths, they sharpened their tongues like a serpent, working deceitfully; they compassed him about with words of malice, and hated, and fought against him without a cause.

"He endured their reproach with fortitude, suffering wrongfully."

"Unhappy vanity!" exclaims Samuel Ayscough, who preserves the inscription, "thus endeavouring, as it were, to carry on the deception with God, which he was convicted of at the bar of literary justice: how much better would it have been to let his name sink in oblivion, than thus attempt to excite the pity of those only who are unacquainted with the history of his life; and, should it raise a desire in any person to inquire, it must turn their pity into contempt."

In Bower, we contemplate a man of considerable merit in a literary point of view, debased by the peculiar circumstances in which he entered the world. A traitor to his own original profession of faith, he never could become a good subject to any other. His subsequent life was that of an adventurer and a hypocrite; and such at length was the dilemma in which he involved himself by his unworthy practices, that, for the purpose of extricating himself, he was reduced to the awful expedient of denying upon oath the genuineness of letters which were proved upon incontestible evidence to be his. Even, however, from the evil of such a life, much good may be extracted. The infamy in which his declining years were spent, must inform even those to whom good is not good alone for its own sake, that the straight paths of candour and honour are the only ways to happiness, and that money or respect, momentarily enjoyed at the expense of either, can produce no permanent or effectual benefit.

BOWER, *WALTER*, an historical writer of the fifteenth century, was born at Haddington, in 1385. At the age of eighteen, he assumed the religious habit; and after finishing his philosophical and theological studies, visited Paris in order to study the laws. Having returned to his native country, he was unanimously elected Abbot of St Colm, in the year 1418. After the death of Fordoun, the historian, (see that article,) he was requested, by Sir David Stewart of Roemyth, to undertake the completion of the *Scotichronicon*, or *Chronicles of Scotland*, which had been brought up by the above writer only to the 23d chapter of the fifth book. In transcribing the part written by Fordoun, Bower inserted large interpolations. He completed the work in sixteen books, which brought the narrative to the death of James the First; and he is said to have been much indebted for materials to the previous labours of Fordoun. Bower, like Fordoun, wrote in a scholastic and barbarous Latin; and their work, though it must be considered as one of the great fountains of early Scottish history, is characterised by few of the essential qualities of that kind of composition.

BOYD, *MARK*, an extraordinary genius, who assumed the additional name of *ALEXANDER*, from a desire of assimilating himself to the illustrious hero of Macedonia, was a younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkell in Ayrshire, who was great-grandson to Robert Boyd, great Chamberlain of Scotland. Mark Boyd was born on the 13th of January, 1562. His father having died while he was a child, he was educated under the care of his uncle, James Boyd of Trochrig, titular Archbishop of Glasgow. His headstrong temper showed itself in early youth, in quarrels with his instructors, and before he had finished his academical course, he left the care of his friends, and endeavoured to obtain some notice at court. It affords a dreadful picture of the character of Boyd, that, even in a scene ruled by such a spirit as Stuart, Earl of Arran, he was found too violent: one duel and numberless broils, in which he became engaged, rendered it necessary that he

should try his fortune elsewhere. By the advice of his friends, who seem to have given up all hope of his coming to any good in his own country, he travelled to France, in order to assume the profession of arms. While lingering at Paris, he lost his little stock of money at dice. This seems to have revived better feelings in his breast. He began to study under various teachers at Paris; then went to the university of Orleans, and took lessons in civil law from Robertus; lastly, he removed to Bourges, where he was received with kindness by the celebrated Cujacius. This great civilian happening to have a crazy fondness for the writings of the early Latin poets, Boyd gained his entire favour by writing a few poems in the barbarous style of Ennius. The plague breaking out at Bourges, he was obliged to fly to Lyons, whence he was driven by the same pestilence into Italy. After spending some time in this country, he returned to France, and is supposed to have there acted for some time as private tutor to a young gentleman named Dauconet. In 1587, commenced the famous wars of the League. Boyd, though a protestant, or afterwards professing to be so, joined with the Catholic party, in company with his pupil, and for some time led the life of a soldier of fortune. His share in the mishaps of war, consisted of a wound in the ankle. In 1588, the Germans and Swiss being driven out of France, the campaign terminated, and Boyd retired to Thoulouse, where he re-commenced the study of civil law. His studies were here interrupted by a popular insurrection in favour of the Catholic interest, but in which he took no part. Having fallen under some suspicion, probably on account of his country, he was seized by the insurgents, and thrown into prison. By the intercession of some of his learned friends, he was relieved from this peril, and permitted to make his escape to Bourdeaux. He has left a most animated account of the insurrection, from which it may be gathered that the expedients assumed in more recent periods of French history, for protecting cities by barricades, chains, and other devices, were equally familiar in the reign of Henry the Great. For several years, Boyd lived a party-coloured life, alternating between study and war. He had a sincere passion for arms, and entertained a notion that to live entirely without the knowledge and practice of military affairs was only to be *half a man*. It is to be regretted, that his exertions as a *soldier* were entirely on the side adverse to his own and his country's faith; a fact which proves how little he was actuated by principle. In the midst of all the broils of the League, he had advanced considerably in the preparation of a series of lectures on the civil law; but he never found an opportunity of delivering them. He also composed a considerable number of Latin poems, which were published in one volume at Antwerp, in 1592. Having now turned his thoughts homewards, he endeavoured, in this work, to attract the favourable attention of James VI., by a very flattering dedication. But it does not seem to have had any effect. He does not appear to have returned to his native country for some years after this period. In 1595, when his elder brother died, he was still in France. Returning soon after, he is said to have undertaken the duty of travelling preceptor to John, Earl of Cassillis; and when his task was accomplished, he returned once more. He died of a slow fever, April 10th, 1601, and was buried in the church of Daily.

Mark Alexander Boyd left several compositions behind him, of which a few have been published. The most admired are his "*Epistolæ Heroidum*," and his "*Hymni*," which are inserted in the "*Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*," published at Amsterdam, in 1637. His style in Latin poetry is shown by Lord Hailes to be far from correct, and his ideas are often impure and coarse. Yet when regarded as the effusions of a soaring genius, which seems to have looked upon every ordinary walk of human exertion as beneath it, we may admire the general excellence, while we overlook mean defects. The Tears of Venus on the

Death of Adonis, which has been often extracted from his Epistola, seems to me to be a beautiful specimen of Latin versification, and in impassioned feeling almost rivalling Pope's *Eloise*. An exact list of the remainder of his compositions, which still lie in manuscript in the Advocate's Library, is given in his life by Lord Hailes, which was one of the few *testamina* contributed by that great antiquary towards a Scottish Biographical Dictionary. Lord Hailes represents the vanity of Boyd as having been very great; but it is obvious that he could offer as high incense to others as to himself. He has the hardihood to compliment the peaceful James VI. as superior to Pallas or Mars: in another place, he speaks of that monarch as having distinguished himself at battles and sieges. It is well known that neither the praise nor the facts were true; and we can only account for such inordinate flattery, by supposing, what there is really much reason to believe, that panegyric in those days was a matter of course, and not expected to contain any truth, or even *vraisemblance*. This theory receives some countenance from a circumstance mentioned by Lord Hailes. The dedication, it seems, in which King James was spoken of as a hardy warrior, was originally written for a real warrior; but the name being afterwards changed, it was not thought necessary to alter the praise; and so the good Solomon, who is said to have shrunk from the very sight of cold iron, stands forth as a second Agamemnon.

BOYD, ROBERT, of Trochrig an eminent divine of the seventeenth century, was born at Glasgow in 1578. He was the son of James Boyd, "Tulchan-archbishop" of Glasgow, and Margaret, daughter of James Chalmers of Gaitgirth, chief of that name. On the death of his father, which happened when he was only three years old, his mother retired to the family residence in Ayrshire, and Boyd, along with Thomas, his younger brother, was in due time sent to the grammar school of the county town. From thence he was removed to the university of Edinburgh, where he studied philosophy under Mr Charles Ferme, (or Fairholm,) one of the regents, and afterwards divinity under the celebrated Robert Rollock. In compliance with the custom of the times, he then went abroad for the purpose of pursuing his studies, and France was destined to be the first sphere of his usefulness. He taught various departments of literature in the schools of Tours and Montauban, at the first of which places he became acquainted with the famous Dr Rivet. In 1604, he was ordained pastor of the church at Verteuil, and in 1606 he was appointed one of the Professors in the university of Saumur, which had been founded in 1593, by the amiable Philip de Mornay, better known by the title of Du Plessis. Boyd also discharged the duties of a pastor in the church at the same town, and, soon after, became Professor of Divinity. As he had now the intention of remaining for some years abroad, he bethought himself of entering into the married state, and having met with "an honest virgin of the family of Malivern," says Wodrow, "he sought her parents for their consent, who having received a satisfactory testimonial of the nobility of his birth, and the competency of his estate, they easily yielded, and so he took her to wife, with the good liking of the church and the university, who hoped that by this means he would be fixed among them, so as never to entertain thoughts of returning to Scotland to settle there." But in this they were soon disappointed, for king James having heard through several noblemen, relations of Mr Boyd, of his worth and talents, offered him the principalship of the university of Glasgow.

The duties of principal in that college were, by the charter of this monarch, not confined even to those connected with that institution. He was required to teach theology on one day, and Hebrew and Syriac the next, alternately; but this was not all. The temporalities of the rectory and vicarage of Govan had

been annexed to it, under the condition that the principal should preach on Sunday in the church of that parish. Under these circumstances, it could not be expected that Mr Boyd could have much leisure to premeditate his lectures. Wodrow informs us, that he did not read them, "but uttered all in a continued discourse, without any hesitation, and with as much ease and freedom of speech, as the most eloquent divine is wont to deliver his sermons in his mother tongue." It will be remembered, that the prelections were then delivered in Latin, and Principal Baillie, who studied under Mr Boyd, mentions that, at a distance of thirty years, the tears, the solemn vows, and the ardour of the desires produced by the Principal's Latin prayers, were still fresh in his memory.¹

From the assimilation which was then rapidly taking place to the episcopalian form of church government, Mr Boyd felt his situation peculiarly unpleasant. He could not acquiesce in the decisions of the Perth assembly, and it could not be expected that he would be allowed to retain his office under any other condition than that of compliance. He therefore preferred voluntarily resigning his office, and retiring to his country residence. Soon after this period, he was appointed Principal of the university of Edinburgh, and one of the ministers of that city; but there he was not long allowed to remain. His majesty insisted upon his compliance with the Perth articles, and an intimation to that effect having been made to him, he refused, and, to use the quaint expression of the historian, "saw took his leave of them." He was now ordered to confine himself within the bounds of Carrick. His last appointment was to Paisley, but a quarrel soon occurred with the widow of the Earl of Abercorn, who had lately turned papist, and this was a source of new distress to him. Naturally of a weakly constitution, and worn down by a series of misfortunes, he now laboured under a complication of diseases, which led to his death at Edinburgh, whither he had gone to consult the physicians, on the 5th of January, 1697, in the 49th year of his age.

Of his works, few of which are printed, the largest and best known is his "*Prælectiones in Epistolam ad Ephesios*." From the circumstances which occurred in the latter part of his life, he was prevented getting it printed as he intended. After his death, a copy of the MS. was sent to Dr Rivet, who agreed with Chouet of Geneva for the printing, but when returning to that place with the MS. in his possession, the ship was taken by the Dunkirkers, and the work was seized by some Jesuits, who would part with it "*nec prece nec pretio*." Fortunately the original still remained, and it was, after many delays, printed "*Impensis Societatis Stationariorum*," in 1652, folio. To the work is prefixed a memoir of the author, by Dr Rivet; but as their acquaintance did not commence till 1598 or 1599, there are several errors in his account of the earlier part of Boyd's life, all of which Wodrow has with great industry and accuracy corrected. The only other prose work of Mr Boyd, ever published, is his "*Monita de filii sui primogeniti Institutione, ex Authoris MSS. autographis per R(obertum) S(ibbald), M. D. edita*," 8vo, 1701. The style of this work, according to Wodrow, is pure, the system perspicuous; and prudence, observation, and piety, appear throughout. Besides these, the "*Hecatombe ad Christum*," the ode to Dr Sibbald, and the laudatory poem on king James, are in print. The two first are printed in the "*Deliciae Poetarum Scotorum*." The Hecatombe has been reprinted at Edinburgh in 1701, and subsequently in the "*Poetarum Scotorum Musæ Sacrae*." The verses to king James have been printed in Adamson's "*Muses' Welcome*;" and it is remarkable, that it seems to have been altogether overlooked by Wodrow. All these poems justify the opinion, that had

¹ Bodii *Prælectiones in Epist. ad Ephes. Præfat. ad Lectorem*.

Boyd devoted more of his attention to the composition of Latin poetry, he might have excelled in that elegant accomplishment.

In the time of Wodrow, several MSS. still remained in the possession of the family of Trochrig, consisting of Sermons in English and French, his Philotheca, a kind of obituary, extracts from which have lately been printed in the second part of the Miscellany of the Bannatyne Club. His life has been written at great length by the venerable historian of the sufferings of the Scottish church, already frequently quoted. Those who wish to know more of this learned man, than the limits of our work will permit, are referred to the very interesting series of the Wodrow biographies in the library of the university of Glasgow—article Boyd.

BOYD, ZACHARY, an eminent divine and religious writer of the seventeenth century, was born before the year 1590, and was descended from the family of the Boyds of Pinkell in Carrick (Ayrshire). He was cousin to Mr Andrew Boyd, bishop of Argyle, and Mr Robert Boyd of Trochrig, whose memoirs have already been embodied in this work. He received the rudiments of his education at the school of Kilmarnock, and passed through an academical course in the college of Glasgow. About the year 1607, he had finished his studies in his native country. He then went abroad, and studied at the college of Saumur in France, under his relation Robert Boyd. He was appointed a regent in this University, in 1611, and is said to have been offered the principality, which he declined. According to his own statement, he spent sixteen years in France, during four of which he was a preacher of the gospel. In consequence of the persecution of the protestants, he was obliged, in 1621, to return to his native country. He relates, in one of his sermons, the following anecdote of the voyage:—"In the time of the French persecution, I came by sea to Flanders, and as I was sailing from Flanders to Scotland, a fearful tempest arose, which made our mariners reele to and fro, and stagger like drunken men. In the mean time, there was a Scots papist who lay near mee. While the ship gave a great shake, I observed the man, and after the Lord had sent a calme I said to him, 'Sir, now ye see the weaknesse of your religion; as long as yee are in prosperitie, yee cry to this saint and that saint: in our great danger, I heard yee cry often, Lord, Lord; but not a word yee spake of our Lady.'" On his reaching Scotland, he further informs us that he "remained a space a private man at Edinburgh, with Doctor Sibbald, the glory and honour of all the physitions of our land." Afterwards, he lived successively under the protection of Sir William Scott of Elie, and of the Marquis of Hamilton and his lady at Kinneil; it being then the fashion for pious persons of quality in Scotland, to retain one clergyman at least, as a member of their household. In 1623, he was appointed minister of the large district in the suburbs of Glasgow, styled the Barony Parish, for which the crypts beneath the cathedral church then served as a place of worship; a scene well fitted by its sepulchral gloom, to add to the impressiveness of his Calvinistic eloquence. In this charge he continued all the remainder of his life. In the years 1634-35 and 45, he filled the office of Rector of the University of Glasgow; an office which appears from its constituency to have then been very honourable.

In 1629, Mr Zachary—to use the common mode of designating a clergyman in that age—published his principal prose work, "The Last Battell of the Soule in Death; whereby are shown the diverse skirmishes that are between the soule of man on his death-bed, and the enemies of our salvation, carefully digested for the comfort of the Sicke, by &c. Printed at Edinburgh for the heires of Andro Hart." This is one of the few pious works not of a controversial nature, produced by the Scottish church before a very recent period; and it is by no means the meanest in the list. It is of a dramatic, or at least a conversational form; and the *dramatis personæ*, such as, "Pastour, Sicke Man, Spirituall Friend,

Carnal Friend, Sathan, Michael," &c., sustain their parts with such spirit, as to show, in connexion with his other works of the like nature, that he might have excelled in a department of profane literature, for which, no doubt, he entertained the greatest horror, namely, writing for the stage. The first volume of the work is dedicated, in an English address to King Charles I., and then in a French one, to his consort Henrietta Maria. It says much for the dexterity of Mr Zachary, that he inscribes a religious work to a Catholic Princess, without any painful reference to her own unpopular faith. He dedicates the second volume to the Electress Palatine, daughter of James VI., and adds a short piece, which he styles her "Lamentations for the death of her son," who was drowned while crossing in a ferry-boat to Amsterdam. The extravagant grief which he describes in this little work is highly amusing. It strikes him that the Electress must have conceived a violent antipathy to water, in consequence of the mode of her son's death, and he therefore makes her conclude her lamentations in the following strain :

"O cursed waters! O waters of Marah, full bitter are yee to me! O element which of all others shall be most detestable to my soule, *I shall never wash mine hands with thee, but I shall remember what thou hast done to my best beloved sonne*, the darling of my soul! *I shall for ever be a friend to the fire, which is thy greatest foe*. Away rivers! away seas! Let me see you no more. If yee were sensible creatures, my dear brother Charles, Prince of the European seas, should scourge you with his royal ships; *with his thundering cannons, he should pierce you to the bottom*.

"O seas of sorrowes, O fearful floodes, O tumbling tempests, O wilfull waves, O swelling surges, O wicked waters, O dooleful deepees, O feartest pooles, O botchful butcher boates, was there no mercy among you for such an hopefull Prince? O that I could refraine from teares, and *that because they are salt like yourselves!*" &c.

Childish as this language is in spirit, it is perhaps in as good taste as most of the elegies produced either by this or by a later age.

Mr Zachary appears to have been naturally a high loyalist. In 1633, when Charles I. visited his native dominions, to go through the ceremony of his coronation, Mr Zachary met him, the day after that solemnity, in the porch of Holyrood Palace, and addressed him in a Latin oration couched in the most exalted strains of panegyric and affection. He afterwards testified this feeling under circumstances more apt to test its sincerity. When the attempt to impose the episcopal mode of worship upon Scotland, caused the majority of the people to unite in a covenant for the purpose of maintaining the former system, the whole of the individuals connected with Glasgow college, together with Mr Zachary, set themselves against a document, which, however well-meant and urgently necessary, was certainly apt to become a stumbling-block in the subsequent proceedings of the country. These divines resolved rather to yield a little to the wishes of their sovereign, than fly into open rebellion against him. Mr Robert Baillie paid them a visit, to induce them to subscribe the covenant, but was not successful: "we left them," says he, "resolved to celebrate the Communion on Pasch in the High Church, *kneeling*."¹ This must have been about a month after the subscription of the covenant had commenced. Soon afterwards, most of these recusants, including Mr Zachary, found it necessary to conform, for where the majority is very powerful or very violent, no minority can exist. Baillie says, in a subsequent letter,² "At our townsmen's desire, Mr Andrew Cant and Mr J. Rutherford were sent by the nobles to preach in the High Kirk, and receive the oaths of that people to the covenant. Lord Eglintoune was appointed to be a

¹ Baillie's Letters, i, 46.

² Ibid. i, 66.

witness there. With many a sigh and tear, by all that people the oath was made. Provost, bailies, council, all, except three men, held up their hands; *Mr Zacharias*, and Mr John Bell younger, has put to their hands. The College, it is thought, will subscribe, and almost all who refused before."

Though Boyd was henceforth a faithful adherent of this famous bond, he did not take the same active share with some of his brethren, in the military proceedings by which it was supported. While Baillie and others followed the army, "as the fashion was, with a sword and pair of Dutch pistols at their saddles,"³ he remained at home in the peaceful exercise of his calling, and was content to sympathize in their successes by hearsay. He celebrated the fight at Newburnford, August 28, 1640, by which the Scottish covenanting army gained possession of Newcastle, in a poem of sixteen 8vo. pages, which is written, however, in such a homely style of versification, that we would suppose it to be among the very earliest of his poetical efforts. It opens with a panegyric on the victorious Lealy, and then proceeds to describe the battle.

The Scots cannons powder and ball did spew,
Which with terror the Canterburians slew.
Bals rushed at random, which most fearfully
Menaced to break the portals of the sky.

* * * *

In this conflict, which was both sowre and surly,
Bones, blood, and braines went in a hurly-burly.
All was made *hodge-podge*, &c.

The pistol bullets were almost as bad as the cannon balls. They—

———— in squadrons came, like fire and thunder,
Men's hearts and heads both for to pierce and plunder;
Their errand was, (when it was understood,)
To bathe men's bosoms in a scarlet flood.

At last comes the wail for the fallen—

In this conflict, which was a great pitie,
We lost the son of Sir Patrick Makgie.

In 1643, he published a more useful work in his "*Crosses, Comforts, and Counsels*, needfull to be considered and carefully to be laid up in the hearts of the Godly, in these boysterous broiles, and bloody times." We also find from the titles of many of his manuscript discourses that, with a diligent and affectionate zeal for the spiritual edification of the people under his charge, he had improved the remarkable events of the time as they successively occurred.

That the reluctance of Mr Zachary to join the Covenanters did not arise from timidity of nature, seems to be proved by an incident which occurred at a later period of his life. After the death of Charles I. it is well known that the Scottish presbyterians made a gallant effort to sustain the royal authority against the triumphant party of independents. They invited home the son of the late king, and rendered him at least the limited monarch of Scotland. Cromwell, having crossed the Tweed with an army, overthrew the Scottish forces at Dunbar, September 3, 1650; and gained possession of the southern portion of the country. Glasgow was, of course, exposed to a visit from this unscrupulous adversary. "Cromwell," says Baillie, "with the whole body of his army, comes peaceably to Glasgow. The magistrates and ministers all fled away; I got to the iale of Cumray, with my Lady Montgomery, but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great, for he took such measures with the sol-

³ Baillie's Letters, i, 174.

diers, that they did less displeasure at Glasgow than if they had been at London, *though Mr Zachary Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High Church.*" This was on the 13th of October, and we learn from a manuscript note upon the preacher's own bible, that the chapter which he expounded on this occasion, was the eighth of the book of Daniel. In this is detailed the vision of the ram with two horns, which is at first powerful, but at length overcome and trampled down by a he-goat; being an allegory of the destruction of the kings of Media and Persia by Alexander of Macedon. It is evident that Mr Zachary endeavoured to extend the parable to existing circumstances, and of course made out Cromwell to be the *he-goat*. The preacher further chose for a text the following passage in the Psalms. "But I as a deaf man heard not; and I was as a dumb man that openeth not his mouth. Thus I was as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs. For in thee, O Lord, do I hope: thou wilt hear, O Lord my God."—*Ps. xxxviii, 13, 14, 15.* This sermon was probably by no means faithful to its text, for certainly Mr Zachary was not the man to keep a mouth clear of reproofs when he saw occasion for blame. The *exposition*, at least, was so full of bitter allusions to the sectarian General, that one of his officers is reported to have whispered into his ear for permission "to pistol the scoundrel." Cromwell had more humanity and good sense than to accede to such a request. "No, no," said he, "we will manage him in another way." He asked Mr Zachary to dine with him, and gained his respect by the fervour of the devotions in which he spent the evening. It is said that they did not finish their mutual exercise till three in the morning.⁴

Mr Zachary did not long survive this incident. He died about the end of the year, 1653, or the beginning of 1654, when the famous Mr Donald Cargill was appointed his successor. "In the conscientious discharge of his duty as a preacher of God's word, which he had at the same time exercised with humility, he seems whether in danger or out of it, to have been animated with a heroic firmness. In a mind such as his, so richly stored with the noble examples furnished by sacred history, and with such a deep sense of the responsibility attached to his office, we are prepared to expect the same consistency of principle, and decision of conduct in admonishing men, even of the most exalted rank. * * * We have every reason to suppose that the tenor of his conduct in life became the high office of which he made profession. From the sternness with which he censures manners and customs prevalent in society, the conforming to many of which could incur no moral guilt, it is to be presumed that he was of the most rigid and austere class of divines. * * * We are ignorant of any of the circumstances attending his last moments, a time peculiarly interesting in the life of every man; but from what we know of him, we may venture to say, without the hazard of an erroneous conclusion, that his state of mind, at the trying hour, was that of a firm and cheerful expectation in the belief in the great doctrines of Christianity, which he had so earnestly inculcated, both from the pulpit and the press, with the additional comfort and support of a long and laborious life in his Master's service. About twenty-five years before his death, he was so near the verge of the grave, that his friends had made the necessary preparation for his winding sheet, which he afterwards found among his books. He seems to have recovered from the disease with a renewed determination to

⁴ The accurate editor of a new edition of "The Last Battell of the Soule," (Glasgow, 1831,) from whose memoir of Mr Zachary most of these facts are taken, blames Mr Baillie in his opinion, unjustly, for having fled on this occasion, while Mr Zachary had the superior courage to remain. It should be recollected that Mr Baillie had particular reason to dread the vengeance of Cromwell and his army, having been one of the principal individuals concerned in the bringing home of the King, and consequently in the provocation of the present war.

employ the remainder of his life in the cause to which he had been previously devoted: he pursued perseveringly to near its termination, this happy course, and just lived to complete an extensive manuscript work, bearing for its title, 'The Notable places of the Scripture expounded,' at the end of which he adds, in a tremulous and indistinct hand-writing, 'Heere the author was neere his end, and was able to do no more, March 3d, 1653.'^a

Mr Zachary had been twice married, first, to Elizabeth Fleming, of whom no memorial is preserved, and secondly, to Margaret Mure, third daughter of William Mure of Glanderston, (near Neilston, Renfrewshire.) By neither of his wives had he any offspring. The second wife, surviving him, married for her second husband the celebrated Durham, author of the Commentary on the Revelation—to whom, it would appear, she had betrayed some partiality even in her first husband's lifetime. There is a traditional anecdote, that, when Mr Zachary was dictating his last will, his spouse made one modest request, namely, that he would bequeath something to Mr Durham. He answered, with a sarcastic reference to herself, "I'll lea' him what I canna keep frae him." He seems to have possessed an astonishing quantity of worldly goods for a Scottish clergyman of that period. He had lent eleven thousand merks to Mure of Rowallan, five thousand to the Earl of Glencairn, and six thousand to the Earl of Loudon; which sums, with various others, swelled his whole property in money to £4527 Scots. This, after the deduction of certain expenses, was divided, in terms of his will, between his relict and the college of Glasgow. About £20,000 Scots is said to have been the sum realized by the College, besides his library and manuscript compositions; but it is a mistake that he made any stipulation as to the publication of his writings, or any part of them. To this splendid legacy, we appear to be chiefly indebted for the present elegant buildings of the College, which were mostly erected under the care of Principal Gillespie during the period of the Commonwealth. In gratitude for the munificent gift of Mr Zachary, a bust of his figure was erected over the gateway within the court, with an appropriate inscription. There is also a portrait of him in the Divinity Hall of the College. Nineteen works, chiefly devotional and religious, and none of them of great extent, were published by Mr Zachary during his lifetime; but these bore a small proportion to his manuscript writings, which are no less than eighty-six in number, chiefly comprised within thirteen quarto volumes, written in a very close hand, apparently for the press. Besides those contained in the thirteen volumes, are three others—"Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spiritual Edification," 2 vols. 4to. "The English Academie, containing precepts and purpose for the weal both of Soul and Body," 1 vol. 12mo. and "The Four Evangels in English verse."

"Mr Boyd appears to have been a scholar of very considerable learning. He composed in Latin, and his qualifications in that language may be deemed respectable. His works also bear the evidence of his having been possessed of a critical knowledge of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages. As a prose writer, he will bear comparison with any of the Scottish divines of the same age. He is superior to Rutherford, and, in general, more grammatically correct than even Baillie himself, who was justly esteemed a very learned man. His style may be considered excellent for the period. Of his characteristics as a writer, his originality of thought is particularly striking. He discusses many of his subjects with spirit and ingenuity, and there is much which must be acknowledged as flowing from a vigorous intellect, and a fervid, and poetical imagination. This latter tendency of his genius is at all times awake, and from which may be inferred his taste for metaphor, and love of colouring, so conspicuous in his

^a Life prefixed to new edition of "The Last Battell of the Soule."

writings. He has great fertility of explication, amounting often to diffuseness, and, in many cases, it would have been well had he known where to have paused. With extensive powers of graphic delineation, he is an instructive and interesting writer, though dwelling too much upon minute circumstances. He seems naturally to have been a man of an agreeable temperament, and as a consequence, at times, blends, with the subject on which he dilates, a dash of his own good nature, in some humorous and witty observations. His irony, often well-timed and well-turned, comes down with the force of illustration, and the sneer of sarcastic rebuke. A close observer of mankind and their actions, the judgment he forms respecting them, is that of a shrewd, sagacious, and penetrating mind. Like a skilful master of his profession, he discovers an intimate knowledge of the manifold, and secret workings of the depravity of the human heart; and though some of the disclosures of its wickedness may not be conveyed in the most polished terms, we commend the honesty and simplicity of his heart, who had invariably followed the good old practice of a sincere and wholesome plainness. His prayers breathe the warm and powerful strains of a devotional mind, and a rich vein of feeling and piety runs through the matter of all his meditations. We have now to notice Mr Boyd in the character in which he has hitherto been best known to the world, namely, in that of a poet. One of his most popular attempts to render himself serviceable to his country was in preparing a poetical version of the Book of Psalms for the use of the church. It had been previous to 1646 that he engaged in this, as the Assembly of 1647, when appointing a committee to examine Rous's version, which had been transmitted to them by the Assembly at Westminster, 'recommended them to avail themselves of the psalter of Rowallan, and of Mr Zachary Boyd, and of any other poetical writers.' It is further particularly recommended to Mr Zachary Boyd to translate the other Scriptural Songs in metre, and to report his travails therein to the commission of that Assembly: that after their examination thereof they may send the same to the presbyteries to be there considered until the next General Assembly. (*Assembly Acts*, Aug. 28, 1647.) Mr Boyd complied with this request, as the Assembly, Aug. 10, 1648, 'recommends to Mr John Adamson and Mr Thomas Crawford to revise the labours of Mr Zachary Boyd upon the other Scripture Songs, and to prepare a report thereof to the said commission for publick affairs,' who, it is probable, had never given in any 'report of their labours.' Of his version, Baillie had not entertained a high opinion, as he says, 'Our good friend, Mr Zachary Boyd, has put himself to a great deal of pains and charges to make a psalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our churches, yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless design.' There seems to have been a party who did not undervalue Mr Boyd's labours quite so much as Baillie, and who, if possible, were determined to carry their point, as, according to Baillie's statement, 'The Psalms were often revised, and sent to presbyteries,' and, 'had it not been for some who had more regard than needed to Mr Zachary Boyd's psalter, I think they (*Rous's version*) had passed through in the end of last Assembly; but these, with almost all the references from the former Assemblies, were remitted to the next.' On 23d November, 1649, Rous's version, revised and improved, was sanctioned by the commission with authority of the General Assembly, and any other discharged from being used in the churches, or its families. Mr Boyd was thus deprived of the honour to which he aspired with some degree of zeal, and it must have been to himself and friends, a source of considerable disappointment.

"Among other works, he produced two volumes, under the title of 'Zion's Flowers, or Christian Poems for Spirituall Edification,' and it is these which

are usually shown as his *bible*, and have received that designation. These volumes consist of a collection of poems on select subjects in Scripture history, such as that of Josiah, Jephtha, David and Goliath, &c. rendered into the dramatic form, in which various 'speakers' are introduced, and where the prominent facts of the Scripture narrative are brought forward, and amplified. We have a pretty close parallel to these poems, in the "Ancient Mysteries" of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the sacred dramas of some modern writers."

The preceding criticism and facts which we have taken the liberty to borrow from Mr Neil,¹ form an able and judicious defence of the memory of this distinguished man. As some curiosity, however, may reasonably be entertained respecting compositions which excited so much vulgar and ridiculous misrepresentation, we shall make no apology for introducing some specimens of Mr Boyd's poetry—both of that kind which seems to have been dictated when his Pegasus was careering through "the highest heaven of invention," and of that other sort which would appear to have been conceived while the sacred charger was cantering upon the mean soil of this nether world, which it sometimes did, I must confess, very much after the manner of the most ordinary beast of burden. The following Morning Hymn for Christ, selected from his work entitled, "The English Academie," will scarcely fail to convey a respectful impression of the writer:—

O Day Spring from on high,
Cause pass away our night;
Clear first our morning sky,
And after shine thou bright.

O lights thou art the light,
Of righteousness the sun;
Thy beams they are most bright,
Through all the world they run.

The day thou hast begun
Thou wilt it clearer make;
We hope to see this Sun
High in our Zodiac.

O make thy morning dew
To fall without all cease;
Do thou such favour show
As unto Gideon's fleece.

O do thou never cease
To make that dew to fall—
The dew of grace and peace,
And joys celestial.

This morning we do call
Upon thy name divine,
That thou among us all
Cause thine Aurora shine.

Let shadows all decline,
And wholly pass away,
That light which is divine,
May bring to us our day.

A day to shine for aye,
A day that is most bright,
A day that never may
Be followed with a night.

O, of all lights the light,
The Light that is most true,
Now banish thou our night,
And still our light renew.

Thy face now to us show
O son of God most dear;
O Morning Star, most true,
Make thou our darkness clear.

Nothing at all is here,
That with thee may compare;
O unto us draw near,
And us thy children spare!

Thy mercies they are rare,
If they were understood;
Wrath due to us thou bare,
And for us shed thy blood.

Like beasts they are most rude,
Whom reason cannot move—
Thou most perfectly good,
Entirely for to love.

Us make mind things above,
Even things that most excell;
Of thine untainted love,
Give us the sacred seal.

O that we light could see
That shineth in thy face!
So, at the last, should we
From glory go to grace.

Within thy sacred place
Is only true content,
When God's seen face to face,
Above the firmament.

¹ Life of Zachary Boyd, prefixed to the new Edition of his "Last Battell of the Soule."

O that our hours were spent,
 Among the sons of men,
 To praise the Omnipotent,
 Amen, yes, and Amen!

The ludicrous passages are not many in number. The following is one which Pennant first presented to the world; being the soliloquy of Jonah within the whale's belly; taken from "The Flowers of Zion:—"

Here apprehended I in prison ly;
 What goods will ransom my captivity?
 What house is this, where's neither coal nor candle,
 Where I nothing but guts of fishes handle?
 I and my table are both here within,
 Where day neere dawned, where sunne did never shine,
 The like of this on earth man never saw,
 A living man within a monster's maw.
 Buried under mountains which are high and steep,
 Plunged under waters hundreth fathoms deep.
 Not so was Noah in his house of tree,
 For through a window he the light did see;
 Hee sailed above the highest waves—a wonder;
 I and my boat are all the waters under;
 Hee in his ark might goe and also come,
 But I sit still in such a straitened roome
 As is most uncouth, head and feet together,
 Among such grease as would a thousand smother.
 I find no way now for my shrinking hence,
 But heere to lie and die for mine offence;
 Eight prisoners were in Noah's hulk together,
 Comfortable they were, each one to other.
 In all the earth like unto mee is none,
 Far from all living, I heere lye alone,
 Where I entombed in melancholy sink,
 Choakt, suffocat, &c.

And it is strange that, immediately after this grotesque description of his situation, Pegasus again ascends, and Jonah begins a prayer to God, conceived in a fine strain of devotion.

BROWN, JAMES, a traveller and scholar of some eminence, was the son of James Brown, M. D. who published a translation of two "Orations of Isocrates," without his name, and who died in 1733. The subject of this article was born at Kelso, May 23d, 1709, and was educated at Westminster School, where he made great proficiency in the Latin and Greek classics. In the year 1722, when less than fourteen years of age, he accompanied his father to Constantinople, where, having naturally an aptitude for the acquisition of languages, he made himself a proficient in Turkish, modern Greek, and Italian. On his return in 1725, he added the Spanish to the other languages which he had already mastered. About 1732, he was the means of commencing the publication of the London Directory, a work of vast utility in the mercantile world, and which has since been imitated in almost every considerable town in the empire. After having laid the foundation of this undertaking, he transferred his interest in it to Mr Henry Kent, a printer in Finch-Lane, Cornhill, who carried it on for many years, and eventually, through its means, acquired a fortune and an estate. In 1741, Brown entered into an engagement with twenty-four of the principal merchants in London, to act as their chief agent in carrying on a trade, through Russia, with Persia. Having travelled to that country by the Wolga and the

Caspian Sea, he established a factory at Reshd, where he continued nearly four years. During this time, he travelled in state to the camp of the famous Kouli Khan, with a letter which had been transmitted to him by George II. for that monarch. He also rendered himself such a proficient in the Persian language, as to be able, on his return, to compile a copious dictionary and grammar, with many curious specimens of Persian literature, which, however, was never published. A sense of the dangerous situation of the settlement, and his dissatisfaction with some of his employers, were the causes of his return; and his remonstrances on these subjects were speedily found to be just, by the factory being plundered of property to the amount of L.80,000, and a period being put to the Persian trade. From his return in 1746 to his death, which took place in his house at Stoke Newington, November 30, 1788, he appears to have lived in retirement upon his fortune. In the obituary of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, he is characterised as a person of strict integrity, unaffected piety, and exalted but unostentatious benevolence.

BROWN, JOHN, author of the "Self-Interpreting Bible," and many popular religious works, was born in the year 1722 at Carpow, a village in the parish of Abernethy and county of Perth. His father, for the greatest part of his life, followed the humble occupation of a weaver, and was entirely destitute of the advantages of regular education, but, nevertheless, seems to have been a man of superior intelligence and worth, and even to have possessed some portion of that seal in the pursuit of knowledge, and that facility in acquiring it without the ordinary helps, which his son so largely inherited. In consequence of the circumstances of his parents, John Brown was able to spend but a very limited time at school in acquiring the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. "One month," he has himself told us, "without his parent's allowance, he bestowed upon Latin." His thirst for knowledge was intense, and excited him even at this early period to extraordinary diligence in all departments of study, but particularly to religious culture. The strong direction of his mind from the beginning to scholarship in general, and to that kind of it more closely connected with divinity in particular, seems to have early suggested to his mother the possibility of his one day finding scope for the indulgence of his taste in the service of the church, and made her often picture, in the visions of maternal fondness, the day when she should, to use her own homely expression, "see the crows flying over her bairn's kirk."

About the eleventh year of his age he was deprived by death of his father, and soon after of his mother, and was himself reduced, by four successive attacks of fever, to a state which made it probable that he was about speedily to join his parents in the grave. But having recovered from this illness, he had the good fortune to find a friend and protector in John Ogilvie, a shepherd venerable for age, and eminent for piety, who fed his flock among the neighbouring mountains. This worthy individual was an elder of the parish of Abernethy, yet, though a person of intelligence and religion, was so destitute of education as to be unable even to read—a circumstance which may appear strange to those accustomed to hear of the universal diffusion of elementary education among the Scottish peasantry, but which is to be accounted for in this case, as in that of the elder Brown, by the disordered state of all the social institutions in Scotland previous to the close of the seventeenth century. To supply his own deficiency, Ogilvie was glad to engage young Brown to assist him in tending his flock, and read to him during the intervals of comparative inaction and repose which his occupation afforded. To screen themselves from the storm and the heat, they built a little lodge among the hills, and to this their mountain *tabernacle* (long after pointed out under this name by the peasants) they frequently repaired to cele-

brate their pastoral devotions. Often "the wilderness and the solitary place were glad for them, and the desert rejoiced even with joy and singing."

Ere long it happened that Ogilvie retired from his occupation as a shepherd, and settled in the town of Abernethy. In consequence of this change, young Brown entered the service of a neighbouring farmer, who maintained a more numerous establishment than his former friend. This step he laments as having been followed by much practical apostasy from God, and showed itself in a sensible decline of religious attainments, and a general lukewarmness in religious duty. Still, however, during the season of backsliding which he himself saw reason thus to deplore, his external character was remarkably distinguished by many virtues, and especially by the rare and truly Christian grace of meekness. In the year 1733, four ministers of the Church of Scotland, among whom was Mr Moncrieff of Abernethy, declared a secession from its judicatures, alleging as their reasons for taking this step the following list of grievances; "The suffrance of error without adequate censure; the infringement of the rights of the Christian people in the choice and settlement of ministers under the law of patronage; the neglect or relaxation of discipline; the restraint of ministerial freedom in opposing mal-administration, and the refusal of the prevailing party to be reclaimed." To this body our young shepherd early attached himself; and ventured to conceive the idea of one day becoming a shepherd of souls in that connection. He accordingly prosecuted his studies with increasing ardour and diligence, and began to attain considerable knowledge of Latin and Greek. These acquisitions he made entirely without aid from others, except that he was able occasionally to snatch an hour when the flocks were folded at noon, in order to seek the solution of such difficulties as his unaided efforts could not master, from two neighbouring clergymen—the one Mr Moncrieff of Abernethy, who has just been mentioned as one of the founders of the Secession, and the other Mr Johnston of Arngask, father of the late venerable Dr Johnston of North-Leith; both of whom were very obliging and communicative, and took great interest in promoting the progress of the studious shepherd-boy. An anecdote has been preserved of this part of his life and studies which deserves to be mentioned. He had now acquired so much knowledge of Greek as encouraged him to hope that he might at length be prepared to reap the richest of all rewards which classical learning could confer on him, the capacity of reading, in the original tongue, the blessed New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Full of this hope, he became anxious to possess a copy of the invaluable volume. One night, accordingly, having folded his flocks in safety, and his fellow-shepherd, whose sentiments towards him were now those of friendship and veneration, having undertaken to discharge his pastoral duties for the succeeding day, he set out on a midnight-journey to St Andrews, a distance of twenty-four miles. Having reached his destination in the morning, he repaired straightway to the nearest bookseller, and asked for a copy of the Greek New Testament. The master of the shop, though, situated as he was in a provincial Scottish University, he must have been accustomed to hear such books inquired for by youths whose appearance and habiliments were none of the most civilized, was nevertheless somewhat astonished by such an application from so unlikely a person, and was rather disposed to taunt him with its presumption. Meanwhile a party of gentlemen, said to have been professors in the university, entered the shop, and having understood the matter, questioned the lad about his employment and studies. After hearing his tale, one of them desired the bookseller to bring the volume, who accordingly produced it, and throwing it down upon the table, "Boy," said he, "read that book, and you shall have it for nothing." The offer was too good to be rejected, and young Brown, having acquitted himself to the admira-

tion of his judges, carried off his cheaply-purchased Testament in triumph, and, ere the evening arrived, was studying it in the midst of his flock upon the hills of Abernethy.

His extraordinary acquisitions about this time subjected him to a suspicion, which was more generally entertained than would now appear credible, that he received a secret aid from the enemy of man, upon the pledge of his own soul. It was probably in consequence of the annoyance he experienced on this account, that he abandoned the occupation of a shepherd, and undertook that of pedlar or travelling-merchant. This mode of life was once of much greater importance and higher esteem in Scotland than at present, when the facilities of communication between all parts of the country and the greater seats of commerce have been multiplied to such a degree, and was often pursued by persons of great intelligence and respectability. Its peculiar tendency to imbue the mind with a love of nature, and form it to a knowledge of the world, have been finely illustrated by a great poet of our day: nor is the Scottish pedlar of the *Excursion*, though certainly somewhat too metaphysical and liberal, in every respect the unnatural character which it has been represented. It will not, however, be considered very surprising when we say, that young Brown did not shine in his new profession. During his mercantile peregrinations, which lay chiefly in the interior parts of Fife and Kinrosshire, he made it a rule to call at no house of which the family had not the character of being religious and given to reading. When he was received into any such dwelling, his first care was to have all the books it could furnish collected together, among which, if he did but light upon a new one, with avidity he fell to the literary feast, losing in the appetite of the soul, the hunger of the body, and in the traffic of knowledge forgetting the merchandise of pedlar's wares. It is related, and may well be believed, that the contents of his pack, on his return to head quarters from one of his expeditions, used to present a lively image of chaos, and that he was very glad to express his obligations to any neat-handed housewife who would take the arrangement of them upon herself. Many a time and oft was he prudently reminded of the propriety of attending more to his business, and not wasting his time on what did not concern him—till his monitors at last gave up the case in despair, and wisely shaking their heads, pronounced him "good for nothing but to be a scholar."

Soon after the close of the Rebellion of 1745, during which period he served as a volunteer in the regiment of militia raised by the county of Fife, in behalf of the government, he resolved to undertake the more dignified duties of school-master. He established himself in the year 1747 at Gairney Bridge, a village in the neighbourhood of Kinross, and there laid the foundation of a school which subsisted for a considerable time, and, fifteen years after, was taught by another individual whose name has also become favourably known to the world—whose lot, however, was not like his predecessor's, to come to the grave "like a shock of corn fully ripe," but to wither prematurely "in the morn and liquid dew of youth,"—the tender and interesting young poet, Michael Bruce. During Mr Brown's incumbency, which lasted for two years, this school was remarkably successful, and attracted scholars from a considerable distance. He afterwards taught for a year and a half another school at Spittal, in the congregation of Linton, under Mr James Mair. The practical character of his talents, the accuracy of his learning, the intimate experience which, as a self-taught scholar, he must have had of elementary difficulties, and the best mode of solving them, and the conscientiousness and assiduity which always formed distinguishing features of his character—must have peculiarly qualified him for the discharge of his present duties. While active in superintending the studies of others, he did not relax in the prosecution of his own. On the contrary, his ardour seems to have led him

into imprudent extremes of exertion. He would commit to memory fifteen chapters of the Bible as an evening exercise after the labours of the day, and after such killing efforts, allow himself but four hours of repose. To this excess of exertion he was probably stimulated by the near approach of the period to which he had long looked forward with trembling hope—the day which was to reward the toils and trials of his various youth, by investing him with the solemn function of an ambassador of Christ. During the vacations of his school, he was now engaged in the regular study of philosophy and divinity under the inspection of the Associate Synod, and the superintendence of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, and James Fisher, two of the original founders, and principal lights of the Secession church. At length, in the year 1751, having completed his preparatory course of study, and approved himself on trial before the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh, he was licensed by that reverend body, at Dalkeith, to preach the gospel in their society. He entered upon the sacred work with deep impressions of its solemn responsibilities. He has himself mentioned that his mind, immediately previous to his receiving authority to preach, was very vividly affected by that awful text in Isaiah vi. 9, 10, “He said, Go and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; see ye indeed, but perceive not; make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and convert and be healed.” He had not been long a probationer, when he received two nearly simultaneous calls to the settled discharge of ministerial duty; one from the congregation of Stow, a village in the shire of Edinburgh, and the other from that of Haddington, the principal town in the county of that name. The Presbytery of Edinburgh, within whose bounds both congregations were included, and which had therefore, according to the Presbyterian constitution, the right of deciding between their competing claims, submitted the matter to his own discretion. His choice was determined to Haddington, partly by his feelings of sympathy with that congregation for disappointments it had already experienced, and partly by his modest estimate of his own qualifications, to which he felt the smaller of the two charges more suitable. Over this congregation therefore he was finally ordained pastor in the month of June, 1751. It deserves to be mentioned, however, that he continued regularly to visit and examine the congregation of Stow until it was supplied with a regular minister.

To the duties of the sacred office he devoted himself with the most zealous and laborious industry. The smallness of his congregation enabled him at once to undertake the widest range of ministerial duty, and to execute it with the greatest minuteness and accuracy. Besides regularly preaching four discourses every Sunday during the summer, and three during winter in his own place of worship, and occasionally in the country during the week, he visited all his people annually in his pastoral capacity, and carried them twice in the same period through a course of public catechetical examinations. He was very assiduous in his visits to the sick and the afflicted, and that not merely to those of his own congregation, but to all, of every denomination, who desired his services. The peculiar characteristic of his manner of address on all these occasions, public and private, was an intense solemnity and earnestness, which extorted attention even from the scorner, and was obviously the genuine expression of his own overwhelming sense of the reality and importance of the message. “His grave appearance,” says a late English divine, who had attended his ministry for some time, “his solemn, weighty, and energetic manner of speaking, used to affect me very much. Certainly his preaching was close, and his address to the conscience pungent. Like his Lord and Master, he spoke with authority and hallowed pathos, having tasted the sweetness and felt the power of what he delivered.” To the same

effect, the celebrated David Hume, having been led to hear him preach on one occasion at North Berwick, remarked, "That old man preaches as if Christ were at his elbow." Except for his overawing seriousness, and occasionally a melting sweetness in his voice, it does not appear that his delivery was by any means attractive. "It was my mercy," he says, with characteristic modesty, that "the Lord, who had given me some other talents, withheld from me a popular delivery, so that though my discourses were not disrelished by the serious, so far as I heard, yet they were not so agreeable to many hearts as those of my brethren, which it was a pleasure to me to see possessed of that talent which the Lord, to restrain my pride, had denied to me." His labours were not in vain in the Lord. The members of his congregation, the smallness of which he often spoke of as a mercy, seem to have been enabled to walk, in a great measure, suitably to their profession and their privileges; and he had less experience than most ministers of that bitterest of all trials attached to a conscientious pastor's situation—scandalous irregularities of practice among those in regard to whom he can have no greater joy than to see them walking in the truth. In ecclesiastical policy, he was a staunch Presbyterian and Seceder in the original sense of the term, as denoting an individual separated, not from the constitution of the established church, either as a church or as an establishment, but from the policy and control of the predominant party in her judicatures. At the unhappy division of the Secession church in 1745, commonly known by the name of the Breach, on the question of making refusal of the burghers oath a term of communion, though personally doubtful of the propriety of a Seceder's swearing the oath in question, he attached himself to that party, who, from declining peremptorily to pronounce it unlawful, obtained the popular appellation of Burghers,—justly considering that a difference of opinion on this point was by no means of sufficient importance to break the sacred bond of Christian fellowship. His public prayers were liberal and catholic, and he always showed the strongest affection for gospel ministers and true Christians of every name. In an unpublished letter to a noble lady of the episcopal communion, he expresses his hope "that it will afford her a delightful satisfaction to observe how extensive and important the agreement, and how small the difference of religious sentiments, between a professedly staunch Presbyterian and a truly conscientious Episcopalian, if they both cordially believe the doctrine of God's free grace reigning to men's eternal life, through the imputed righteousness of Jesus Christ our Lord." He made a point of regularly attending and acting in the church courts, though he avoided taking any leading part in the management of ecclesiastical business. The uniformity and universality of his habits of personal devotion were remarkable. Of him it might well be said, that he walked with God, and that in God he, as it were to his own consciousness, lived, and moved, and had his being. He had acquired a holy skill in deriving, from every scene of nature, and every incident of life, occasions of Christian thought, impulses of Christian feeling, motives to Christian duty. His "Christian Journal" seems to have been literally the picture of his daily course and association of ideas, and the beautiful motto he has prefixed to it, to have been the expression of his own experience: "The ear that is ever attentive to God never hears a voice that speaks not of Him; the soul, whose eye is intent on him, never sees an atom in which she doth not discern her Best Beloved." He could hold sweet communion with his heavenly Father in the most terrible displays of His majesty, not less than in the softer manifestations of His benignity. One day, hearing a tremendous crash of thunder, he smilingly exclaimed to those around, "That is the low whisper of my God." His seasons of prayer, stated and special, secret and domestic, were frequent beyond the rules of any prescribed routine. Often was he overheard, in the nightly and the

morning watches, conversing with his God in prayer and praise, remembering his Maker upon his bed, and having his song with him in the night. Amidst the ordinary details of life, the devout aspirations of the heart were continually breaking forth in ejaculations of thanksgiving and holy desire: his conversation habitually dwelt on heavenly things; or, if secular objects were introduced, he would turn them with sanctifying ingenuity into divine emblems and spiritual analogies. His whole mind and life seemed impregnated with devotion, and all his days formed, as it were, one Sabbath. The extent of his pecuniary liberality was surprising. He considered it a binding duty on every individual to devote at least the tenth part of his revenue to pious uses; and out of an income which, during the greater part of his life, amounted to only forty pounds a year, and never exceeded fifty, and from which he had a numerous family to support, he generally exceeded that proportion. He distributed his benevolence with strict attention to the Saviour's command, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

He was aware of the importance of conversation among the various means of doing good, and, though he laments his own "sinful weakness and unskilfulness in pushing religious discourse," he was too conscientious to neglect the opportunities which presented themselves of promoting, in this way, the glory of God and the best interests of men. He made it a distinct principle never to leave any company in which he might be placed, without saying something which, by the blessing of God, might promote their spiritual good. It is related, that, having accidentally met Ferguson the poet walking in Haddington church-yard, and being struck with his pensive appearance, he modestly addressed him, and offered him certain serious advices, which deeply affected him at the time, and doubtless had their share in exciting and promoting those terrible convictions which latterly overwhelmed the poet's mind, and in which it may perhaps be hoped there was something better than "the sorrow that worketh death." He knew, however, that there was a certain discretion to be used in such cases, and a selection to be made of the "*mollia tempora fandi*," the seasons when words are "fitly spoken." Of this, the following anecdote is an example:—Having occasion to cross the ferry between Leith and Kinghorn, with a Highland gentleman as his fellow-passenger, he was much grieved to hear his companion frequently take the name of God in vain, but restrained himself from taking any notice of it in the presence of the rest of the company. On reaching land, however, observing the same gentleman walking alone upon the beach, he stepped up, and calmly reminded him of the offence he had been guilty of, and the law of God which forbids and condemns it. The gentleman received the reproof with expressions of thanks, and declared his resolution to attend to it in future. "But," added the choleric Celt, "had you spoken to me so in the boat, I believe I should have run you through."

It will not be supposed, that, after having given himself with such ardour to study in circumstances of comparative disadvantage, he neglected to avail himself of the more favourable opportunities he now enjoyed of extending and consolidating his knowledge. By a diligent improvement of the morning hours, and a studious economy of time throughout the day, he rarely spent fewer than twelve hours of the twenty-four in his study. He possessed extraordinary patience of the physical labour connected with hard study. No degree of toil in the way of reading, or even of writing, seemed to daunt or to fatigue him. Though he never enjoyed the assistance of an amanuensis, he transcribed most of his works several times with his own hand: and even without a view to the press, he more than once undertook the same fatigue for the convenience of private individuals. In this way, at the request of the Countess of Huntingdon, he

copied out his *System of Divinity*, before its publication, for the use of her Ladyship's theological seminary in Wales. He had remarkable facility in the acquisition of languages; and of this species of knowledge, the key to every other, he possessed an extraordinary amount. Besides the three commonly called the learned tongues, he was acquainted with Arabic, Syriac, Persian, and Ethiopic; and of the modern languages, with the French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German. In the various departments of *real* as distinguished from *verbal* knowledge, his reading was very wide in range and various in subject. His favourite pursuits were history and divinity; but every subject, which more nearly or more remotely bore on the literature of his profession, he considered worthy of his attention. He afterwards saw reason to repent of the wideness of his aims in this respect, and to regret "the precious time and talents," to use his own words, "he had vainly squandered in the mad attempt to become a universal scholar." His reading, though thus extensive, was at the same time very exact and accurate. In order to render it so, he in many cases adopted the tedious and laborious method of compiling regular abridgments of important and voluminous books. Among the works he thus epitomized, were Judge Blackstone's Commentaries, and the Ancient Universal History.

In the month of September 1753, about two years after his ordination, Mr. Brown married Miss Janet Thomson, daughter of Mr. John Thomson, merchant at Musselburgh. For eighteen years he enjoyed in her a "help meet" for him in his Christian course, and at the end of that period he surrendered her, as he himself expresses it, "to her first and better Husband." They had several children, of whom only two survived their mother—John and Ebenezer, both of whom their father had the satisfaction before his death of introducing as ministers into the church of Christ, the former at Whitburn, and the latter at Inverkeithing. Two years after the death of his first wife, which took place in 1771, he was married a second time to Miss Violet Crombie, daughter of Mr. William Crombie, merchant, Stenton, East Lothian, who survived him for more than thirty years, and by whom he left at his death four sons and two daughters, of whom only the half are now alive. In his domestic economy and discipline, Mr. Brown laboured after a strict fidelity to his ordination vow, by which he promised to rule well in his own house. His notions in regard to the authority of a husband and a father were very high, and all the power which as such he thought himself to possess, was faithfully employed in maintaining both the form and the power of godliness.

In the year 1758, Mr. Brown, for the first time, appeared as an author. His first publication was entitled "An Help for the Ignorant, being an Essay towards an Easy Explication of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and Catechisms, compiled for the use of the young ones of his own congregation." In addition to this, he published, six years after, two short catechisms—one introductory to, the other explanatory of, the Shorter Catechism. All these publications have been very extensively useful. In 1765, he published, what was at the time by far the most popular and successful of his works, entitled "The Christian Journal, or Common Incidents Spiritual Instructors." This work, though it has some of the literary defects which, on such a subject, might have been expected from an author so circumstanced, such as the occasional indulgence of unrefined images, the excess of detail in tracing the analogies, and a certain monotonous rhythm of style, in many cases scarcely distinguishable from blank verse—nevertheless displays an extraordinary richness and ingenuity of fancy, and in many instances rises into a most impressive and heart-warming eloquence. In 1766 he published a *History of the Rise and Progress of the Secession*, and the year following, a series of *Letters on the Constitution, Discipline, and Government of*

the Christian Church. These tracts were followed by his *Sacred Tropology*, the first of a series of works which he designed for the purpose of giving a clear, comprehensive, and regular view of the figures, types, and predictions of Scripture. The second and third parts were published in 1781.

In the year 1768, in consequence of the death of the Rev. John Swanston of Kinross, Professor of Divinity under the Associate Synod, Mr Brown was elected to the vacant chair. The duties of this important office he discharged with great ability and exemplary diligence and success. His public prelections were directed to the two main objects, first, of instructing his pupils in the science of Christianity, and secondly, of impressing their hearts with its power. The system of Divinity which he was led, in the course of his professional duty, to compile, and which was afterwards published, is perhaps the one of all his works which exhibits most striking proofs of precision, discrimination, and enlargement of thought; and is altogether one of the most dense, and at the same time perspicuous views which has yet been given of the theology of the Westminster Confession. The charge which he took of those committed to his care, was not entirely of the 'ex cathedra' description. The situation of the Hall in a small provincial town, and the manners of the age, combined with his just sense of the importance of the students' private exertions and personal habits, enabled him to exercise a much more minute and household superintendence over the young men under his direction. Frequently in the morning he was accustomed to go his rounds among their lodgings, to assure himself that they were usefully employing "the golden hours of prime." The personal contact between professor and pupils was thus remarkably close and unbroken, and hence we find that among those who can recollect their attendance on the Divinity Hall at Haddington, the interest with which every mind looks back to the scenes and seasons of early study has a greater character of individuality, and is associated with minuter recollections than we generally meet with after so long a lapse of years.

The same year in which he was elected to the theological chair he preached and published a very powerful sermon on *Religious Steadfastness*, in which he dwells at considerable length on the religious state of the nation, and expresses violent apprehensions at the visible diffusion and advance of what he called latitudinarianism, and what we of this tolerant age would term liberality of religious sentiment. He likewise this year gave to the world one of the most elaborate, and certainly one of the most valuable of all his writings, the *Dictionary of the Holy Bible*. For popular use, it is unquestionably the most suitable work of the kind which yet exists, containing the results of most extensive and various reading both in the science and in the literature of Christianity, given without pretension or parade, and with a uniform reference to practical utility. In 1771, the Honourable and Reverend Mr Shirley, by command of the Countess of Huntingdon, applied to Mr Brown for his opinions on the grand subject of justification, in view of a conference to be held on this question with Mr Wesley and his preachers. This application gave occasion to a long and animated correspondence with that noble lady, (a correspondence which, in consequence of our author's modesty, remained a secret till after his death,) and to a series of articles from his pen on the doctrine of justification, which appeared, from time to time, in the *Gospel Magazine* and *Theological Miscellany*, between the years 1770 and 1776. In the same year he was led, by a desire to contribute to the yet better instruction of his students, to form the design of composing a manual of church history on a general and comprehensive plan. It was to consist of three parts, "the first comprehending a general view of transactions relating to the church from the birth of our Saviour to the present time; the second containing more fully the histories of the Reformed British Churches in England,

Scotland, Ireland, and America; the third to comprehend the histories of the Waldenses and the Protestant churches of Switzerland, France, Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Hungary." Of these he completed the two former, his *General History* having been published in 1771, and his *History of the British Churches in the beginning of 1784*. These form very useful popular compends, though destitute of high historical authority. The history of the British Churches, as a work of original research, is much superior to the more general compilation, which is little more than an abridgment of Mosheim; written in a more fervid spirit than the latter is accustomed to display. Mr Brown's next publication appeared in 1775, and was an edition of the metrical "Psalms, with notes exhibiting the connection, explaining the sense, and for directing and animating the devotion." In 1778 he gave to the world the great work on which his reputation is chiefly founded, "*The Self-Interpreting Bible*," the object of which is to condense, within a manageable compass, all the information which an ordinary reader may find necessary for attaining an intelligent and practical knowledge of the sacred oracles. The first publication of this work was attended with considerable difficulties, in consequence of the claim of the king's printers to the exclusive right of printing the authorized version of the Scriptures, whether accompanied or not with illustrative matter. This claim, however, having been set aside, the work was at length given to the world in 1778, and received with a high and gradually increasing and still unexhausted approbation. The same year he published a small tract entitled "*the Oracles of Christ Abominations of Antichrist*," and four years after, his "*Letters on Toleration*:" strenuously maintaining the unlawfulness of tolerating by authority a false religion in a professedly Christian country. These publications originated in the universal sentiment of alarm entertained by the evangelical presbyterians of Scotland, both within and without the establishment, in consequence of the proposed abolition of the penal code against the Roman Catholics.

In 1781, besides his works on the types and prophecies formerly referred to, he published a sermon on the "*Duty of Raising up Spiritual Children unto Christ*," preached partly at Whitburn, and partly after his son Ebenezer's ordination at Inverkeithing. He likewise, in the course of the same year, wrote a pamphlet in defence of the re-exhibition of the testimony, and a collection of the biographies of eminent divines, under the name of the "*Christian Student and Pastor*." This was the first of a series of similar compilations intended as illustrations and examples of practical religion, and was followed in 1781 by the "*Young Christian*," and in 1783 by the "*Lives of thirteen Eminent Private Christians*." In 1783, he published a small "*Concordance to the Bible*." The year following, he received an invitation from the reformed Dutch church in America, to become their Professor of Divinity, which he declined, and modestly kept secret. And, in 1785, he concluded his career as an author, by a pamphlet against the travelling of the Mail on the Lord's-day—a day for the observance of which, in the strictest degree of sanctity, he always showed himself peculiarly jealous, not only abstaining himself, but prohibiting his family, from speaking on that day on any worldly affair, even on such as related to what may be called the secularities of religion and the church. The tracts published by him in periodical works, along with his "*Letters on Gospel Preaching and the Behaviour of Ministers*," were collected after his death, and published under the title of "*Remains*."

Throughout his writings, Mr Brown's uniform aim was general utility; personal emolument formed no part of his object, and certainly very little of his attainment, as the whole profit accruing to himself from his voluminous, and in many cases, successful works, amounted to only £40. Without possessing much

original genius, but on the other hand too ready, it may be, to submit the freedom of his mind to system and authority, he was endowed with a strong aptitude for acquisition, and great power of arrangement, a sound and generally sober judgment, and a rich and vivid fancy, though united with a defective, or rather, perhaps, an uncultivated taste. The selection of subjects, and general conception of almost every one of them, are very happy, and in many cases the execution proves his high endowments for the task he undertook.

The time now drew near that he should die. For some years previous, he had been greatly annoyed with a gradual failure, at once in the bodily power of digestion and the mental faculty of memory—the symptoms of a constitution fairly worn out by the intense and incessant labours to which it had been subjected. In the beginning of 1787, his complaints increased in such an alarming degree, accompanied by a general and extreme debility, that he found it necessary to abandon the pulpit. During the months of spring, he lived in a continual state of earnest and active preparation for the great change he was about to undergo. He expired on the 19th June, and on the 24th his remains were followed to their place of repose in Haddington church-yard, by nearly the whole inhabitants of the town, and a large concourse of his friends and brethren from a distance. At the first meeting of the Associate Synod after his decease, “the Synod,” as their minute bears, “unanimously agreed to take this opportunity of testifying their respect to the memory of the Rev. John Brown, their late Professor, whose eminent piety, fervent zeal, extensive charity, and unwearied diligence in promoting the interests of religion, will be long remembered by this court, especially by those members of it who had the happiness of studying divinity under his inspection.”

BROWN, JOHN, M. D. founder of what is termed the Brunonian system in medicine, and one of the most eccentric and extraordinary men of his time, was a native of the parish of Bunkle, in Berwickshire, where he was born, in the year 1735, or, as others assert, in 1737. Though only the son of a day-labourer, he contrived to obtain an excellent classical education at the school of Dunse, which was then taught by Mr William Cruickshank, one of the most celebrated teachers that Scotland has produced. The genius and application of Brown were alike so great, that, at an age when the most of children are only beginning their letters, he was far advanced in a knowledge of Latin. His studies, after some time, were broken off in consequence of the inability of his father to maintain him at school. He was bound apprentice to the gloomy and monotonous craft of a weaver, which must have been peculiarly unsuitable to his lively faculties. However, he seems to have afterwards been enabled by the kindness of his teacher to renew his studies; and it is known that for this purpose he had employed himself on the harvest-field. His proficiency in the Latin recommended him, first to the situation of usher in the school, and afterwards to that of tutor in a neighbouring family. When about twenty years of age, he removed to Edinburgh, and entering the university, advanced so far in the study of divinity, as to deliver a discourse preparatory to commencing his trials before the presbytery. Brown, however, was not destined to be a member of this profession. Owing to some unexplained freak of feeling, he turned back from the very threshold, and for some years supported himself in the humble capacity of a *grinder* in the university. His services in this capacity to the medical students introduced him to a knowledge of medicine, which he suddenly resolved to prosecute as a profession. His natural ardour of mind enabled him very speedily to master the necessary studies, in which he was greatly assisted by the particular kindness and attention of Dr Cullen, then professor of medicine in the university. At one period, he acted as Latin secretary to this great

man, with whom he afterwards quarrelled in the most violent manner. In 1765, he married, and set up a house for the purpose of receiving medical students as boarders. But, his irregular and improvident conduct reduced him to bankruptcy in the short space of two years. A vacancy occurring in the High School, he became a candidate; but being too proud of his real qualifications to think any other recommendation necessary, he was overlooked in favour of some child of patronage. It is said that, when his name, and his name alone, was presented to the eyes of the magistrates, they derisively asked who he was; to which Cullen, then separated in affection from his former pupil, is stated to have answered, with some real or affected hesitation—"Why, sure, this can never be our Jock!" Brown met with a similar repulse, on applying for the chair of theoretical medicine in the university. Yet, notwithstanding every discouragement from the great men of his own profession, this eccentric genius was pressing on towards the completion of that peculiar system by which his name has been distinguished. His views were given to the world, in 1780, under the title "*Elementa Medicinæ*;" and he illustrated them further by lectures, which were attended, as a supernumerary course, by many of the regular students of the university. The Brunonian system simply consisted in the administration of a course of stimulants, instead of the so-called anti-phlogistic remedies, as a means of producing that change in the system which is necessary to work a cure. The idea was perhaps suggested by his own habits of life, which were unfortunately so very dissolute as to deprive him of all personal respect. He was, perhaps the only great drinker, who ever exulted in that degrading vice, as justified by philosophical principles. So far from concealing his practices, he used to keep a bottle of whiskey, and another of laudanum, upon the table before him; and, throughout the course of the lecture, he seldom took fewer than three or four doses from each. In truth, Brown lived at a time when men of genius did not conceive it to be appropriate to their character as such, to conduct themselves with decency. Thus, a man who might have adorned the highest walks of society by his many brilliant qualities, was only fit for the company of the lowest and most despicable characters. He was a devout free-mason, but more for the sake of the conviviality to which it affords so fatal an excuse, than for the more recondite and mysterious attractions (if any such exist) of the fraternity. He was the founder of a peculiar lodge in Edinburgh, called the "*Roman Eagle*," where no language but Latin was allowed to be spoken. One of his friends remarked with astonishment the readiness with which he could translate the technicalities and slang of masonry into this language, which, however he at all times spoke with the same fluency as his vernacular Scotch. It affords a lamentable view of the state of literary society in Edinburgh between the years 1780 and 1790, that this learned lodge was perhaps characterised by a deeper system of debauch than any other. In 1786, Brown removed to London, in order to push his fortune as a lecturer on his own system of medicine, which had already acquired no little fame. But the irregularity of his conduct, and the irascibility of his temperament, rendered all his hopes fruitless. He died at London, October 7, 1788, of a fit of apoplexy, being then little more than fifty years of age. His works have been collected and published by his son; but, like the system which they explain, they are now forgotten.

BROWN, JOHN, an ingenious artist, was the son of Samuel Brown, goldsmith and watch-maker at Edinburgh, where he was born in 1752. He received an excellent education, after the fashion of Scotland, and was early destined to take up the profession of a painter. Having formed a school friendship of no ordinary warmth with Mr David Erskine, son of Thomas Erskine of Cambo, he travelled with that young gentleman in 1774, into Italy, where he was kindly

received by Charles Erskine of the Rota, an eminent lawyer and prelate, the cousin of his companion. He immediately attached himself to the Academy, with a resolution to devote himself entirely to the arts. During the course of ten years' residence in Italy, the pencil and crayon were ever in his hand, and the sublime thoughts of Raphael and Michael Angelo ever in his imagination. By continual practice, he obtained an elegance and correctness of contour, never equalled by any British artist; but he unfortunately neglected the mechanism of the pallet till his taste was so refined, that Titian, and Marillo, and Corregio, made his heart sink within him whenever he touched the canvas. When he attempted to lay in his colours, the admirable correctness of his contour was lost, and he had never self-sufficiency to persevere till it should be recovered in that tender evanescent outline which is so difficult to be attained even by the most eminent painters. He wished every thing important to be made out, and when it was made out, he found his work hard and disagreeable, like the first pictures painted by Raphael, and by all that preceded that wonderful artist. Brown, besides his genius for painting, possessed a high taste for music. His evenings in Italy were spent at the opera, and he penetrated deeply into the study of music as a science.

At Rome Brown met with Sir William Young and Mr. Townley, who, pleased with some of his pen and ink sketches, engaged him to accompany them to Sicily as a draughtsman. Of the antiquities of this island, he took several very fine views in pen and ink, exquisitely finished, yet still preserving the character and spirit of the buildings he intended to represent.

It was the belief of one of Brown's Scottish patrons, that if he had gone to Berlin, he would have obtained the favour of Frederick the Great, on account of his extraordinary talents and refined personal character. A pious regard, however, for his parents, induced him to return to his native city, where, though universally beloved and admired, he found no proper field for the exertion of his abilities. Amongst the few persons of taste who afforded him their patronage was Lord Monboddo, who, with that liberality by which he was distinguished, gave him a general invitation to his elegant and convivial table, and employed him in making several pencil-drawings. He was also employed to draw pencil-heads of fifty of the more distinguished members of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, then just established; of which he finished about twenty. Among other works which he produced at Edinburgh, were heads of Dr. Blair, Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield, Runciman, his friend and brother artist, Drs. Cullen and Black, all of which were done in the most happy and characteristic manner. His talent in this line is described as having been very great. Amidst the collection which he had brought home to Edinburgh, was a portrait of the celebrated Piranese, who, being unable to sit two moments in one posture, reduced his painter to the necessity of shooting him flying like a bat or snipe. This *rara avis* was brought down by Brown at the first shot.

In 1786 Brown was induced to remove to London in order to prosecute, on a larger field, his profession as a portrait-draughtsman in black lead. He was here occasionally employed by Mr. Townley in drawing from his collection of Greek statues, a branch of art in which Brown is allowed to have greatly excelled. After some time spent in unremitting application, his health gave way, and he was recommended to try the benefit of a visit to his native country, by sea. On his passage from London to Leith, he was somehow neglected as he lay sick in his hammock, and, on his arrival, he was found at the point of death. With much difficulty he was brought up to town, and laid on the bed of his friend Runciman, who had died not long before in the same place. Here he expired, September 5, 1787, having only attained the age of thirty-five.

BROWN, WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D. D., an eminent theological and miscellaneous writer, was born, January 7, 1755, at Utrecht, where his father, the reverend William Brown, was minister to the English congregation. In 1757, his father removed with his family to St Andrews, in order to undertake the duties of professor of ecclesiastical history; and the subject of our memoir, having commenced his education under his father's care, was placed successively at the grammar-school and university of that city, entering the latter at the early age of twelve. His native abilities, favoured by the fostering care of his father, enabled him, notwithstanding his immature years, to pass through his academical course with distinction; classical literature, logic, and ethics, being the branches of study to which he chiefly devoted his attention. After studying divinity for two years at St Andrews, he removed to Utrecht, where he prosecuted the same study, and also that of civil law. In 1778, having previously been licensed by the presbytery of St Andrews, he succeeded his uncle as minister of the English church at Utrecht; a field of exertion too narrow for his abilities, but which he, nevertheless, cultivated with the same zeal and application which a conscientious clergyman might be expected to bestow upon one more extensive. Such spare time as his duties left to him, he employed in attention to a few pupils whom he received into his house. He at the same time enlarged his range of study, and occasionally made excursions into France, Germany, and Switzerland. In 1786, he married his cousin, Anne Elizabeth Brown, by whom he had five sons and four daughters.

The first literary effort of Mr Brown, was an essay on the origin of evil, written for a prize offered by the curators of the Holpian legacy at Utrecht, and which was adjudged the second honour among the essays of twenty-five competitors, that of being published at the expense of the trust. Soon after this, namely, in 1784, the university of St Andrews conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. Dr Brown was successful in several other prize essays, two of which were published, under the titles of "An Essay on the Folly of Scepticism," London, 1788; and "An Essay on the Natural Equality of Man," Edinburgh, 1793. The latter took a more sober view of the subject than was generally adopted at the time of its publication; and it accordingly became the means of introducing Dr Brown to the notice of the British government. Previously to the armed interposition of the Prussians in 1788, Dr Brown was exposed to so much annoyance on account of his attachment to the dynasty of Nassau, that he found it necessary to proceed to London, in quest of another situation. The event alluded to, not only enabled him to retain his former office, but caused his elevation to a professorship, newly erected in the university of his native city, for moral philosophy and ecclesiastical history. He unfortunately was not allowed sufficient time to prepare the two elaborate courses of lectures required in this new situation; and, by his extraordinary exertions to accomplish what was expected of him, laid the foundation of ailments, from which he never afterwards recovered. His inaugural discourse was published under the title of "*Oratio de Religionis et Philosophiæ Societate et Concordia maxime Salutari.*" Two years afterwards, he was nominated rector of the university; and on depositing his temporary dignity, he pronounced an "*Oratio de Imaginatione in Vitæ Institutione regenda,*" which was published in 1790. Though offered the Greek professorship at St Andrews, he continued in Utrecht, till the invasion of Holland by the French, in the beginning of 1795, when he was obliged to leave the country in an open boat, with his wife and five children, besides some other relations. Notwithstanding the severity of the season, the roughness of the weather, and the frail nature of the bark to which so many lives were committed, he reached the English coast in safety.

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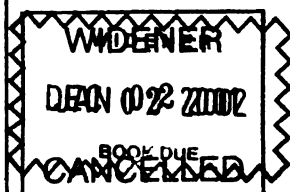
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